

**PEACE, PLAN
and PROGRESS**



*The 26th Congress of
the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union*

*Edited by Marilyn Bechtel,
David Laibman
and Daniel Rosenberg*

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FOREWORD

Every five years an event takes place in the USSR which provides Soviets and the world with the opportunity to examine in depth the achievements, prospects and problems of the world's first socialist society. This year, the 26th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party took place from February 23 through March 3, 1981, in the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses.

In the course of the proceedings, every aspect of Soviet policy and actions in foreign and domestic affairs was subjected to detailed scrutiny, not only in the reports presented by Leonid Brezhnev and Nikolay Tikhonov, but also in extensive discussion from the floor. Factory workers, farmers, teachers, doctors and other rank-and-file participants in Soviet society were heard, along with party leaders and those charged with the highest responsibility for work in various economic, scientific and cultural fields.

As usual, most of the US news media ignored the Congress, or distorted and downplayed it. In a period when US-Soviet relations, central to world peace, are rapidly worsening, such a news "blackout" is particularly unfortunate. The people of our country need the information brought forward at such events, if they are to be able to determine their own best interests in a situation where the Reagan administration daily intensifies its unprecedented anti-Soviet blitzkrieg with the assistance of most mass media outlets.

To take one example. In the last few years CIA reports have repeatedly stated that the Soviets face an imminent, serious oil shortage. These reports have been used to support conjectures that the USSR plans a drive into the Persian Gulf region—even, with total disregard for geography and topography, by way of Afghanistan! In turn, the US government has used such conjectures as the main rationale for establishing the Rapid Deployment Force, military buildup in the Indian Ocean, and provision of US weapons to such countries as Egypt, Israel, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. The Soviets have repeatedly maintained that their energy resources, including oil, are sufficient to satisfy both internal needs and extensive export commitments for the foreseeable future (for example, see Academician Anatoly Alexandrov's remarks to the Congress, on page 98). The US Defense Intelligence Agency was finally forced to admit as much, in a report made public in September 1981.

The most striking aspects of the discussion of Soviet foreign policy at the Congress were the emphasis on specific peace proposals, especially for

nuclear disarmament, and on aid to countries and movements striving for political and economic independence. Not only were these concerns reflected in the Central Committee report; they also found expression in the remarks of many delegates. Foreign guests—who were by no means all representatives of Communist Parties—inevitably cited the importance of the USSR's policies and actions for peace and liberation.

On the domestic scene, it would appear that an economy in which industrial output has grown by about 80 per cent during the decade 1971-1980—as compared to US industrial output growth of about 40 per cent during the same period—is not doing too badly. During the years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, 1976-1980, real incomes of workers and farmers grew by an average of 16 per cent (while real incomes of US workers fell noticeably). Housing, transportation, health care, education, recreation and pensions were greatly improved during that period, and further significant gains are planned for the next five years. Nonetheless, the reports, and the remarks of delegates, emphasized a critical, analytical approach to overcoming a variety of difficulties and weaknesses which got in the way of even faster progress. The frank discussion of these problems contrasts sharply with the image commonly purveyed in the West that Soviet leaders hide their country's problems and that people are afraid to voice their criticisms openly.

An integral part of preparations for Soviet party congresses is the discussion which goes on for months in advance, involving the great majority of the adult population. The Draft Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990 were published and distributed throughout the country in December 1980, and in the three months prior to the Congress more than 121 million Soviet people—most of them non-party members—discussed them in meetings and carried on serious, probing exchanges about them in the columns of local and national newspapers. .

The present volume is an attempt to convey the scope and depth of the Congress and its antecedent discussion, as well as the most significant elements of the great body of information about Soviet society which its proceedings provide. The remarks of delegates reveal the results of the Soviet Union's national policy which has overcome racism and chauvinism and has assured the modern economic and cultural development of areas which were colonial backwaters in tsarist times. They highlight the progress made, and still to be made, in bringing rural areas up to urban standards. They speak of the concern of workers and managers alike for increasing productivity, not by speedup but by improved machines and methods, under conditions of full employment and labor shortage. They debate cultural and educational developments.

Naturally, one small volume cannot adequately represent all aspects of such

a complex reality. Verbatim excerpts are presented from the main reports delivered by Leonid Brezhnev and Nikolay Tikhonov; on request, the editors will provide readers with information on obtaining complete translations of these texts. Similarly, extensive excerpts from the remarks of a number of the Soviet delegates and international guests must stand as representative of the many more which could not be included.

It is hoped that the first-hand observations of several US and Western writers will help to convey the spirit as well as the letter of the Congress, and that the discussion by US and Soviet commentators of various aspects of the USSR's foreign and domestic policies, and the relation between the CPSU and Soviet society as a whole, will provide useful information.

Selection and editing of materials has been done by the editors of New World Review—Marilyn Bechtel, David Laibman and Daniel Rosenberg. The participation in all aspects of preparation by Jessica Smith, NWR's editor for 40 years and now a very active and valued editor emeritus, has been especially significant and helpful.

Part of this material was published as a special enlarged issue of the magazine (May-June 1981). We are able to provide much greater coverage in this book, more than half of which is devoted to additional material.

The editors extend deep appreciation to all who contributed articles, and to Novosti Press Agency Publishing House for furnishing official texts and translations of the main reports and the speeches of Soviet delegates and international guests.

THE EDITORS



PART ONE:

Appraising the 26th Congress

1

MARK SOLOMON

In a Time of Crisis: Voices That Must Be Heard

The 26th Congress and World Peace

Like a darkening poisoned cloud, the spector of nuclear war hovers ever more menacingly over the world. The growing threat of incalculable disaster is heightened by a gradual turn in United States strategic policy from a deterrent capability to creation of a technology based upon the insane doctrine of "limited" or "winnable" nuclear war. Billions of dollars are now being feverishly poured into a new generation of nuclear weapons supposedly capable of such lethal force and accuracy to destroy Soviet land-based missiles in a matter of minutes before they could respond to attack. The still classified Carter Presidential Directives 54, 58 and 59 gave the nuclear first-strike concept the imprimatur of official doctrine. The Republican platform of 1980 and Ronald Reagan's pronouncements have raised the related and equally impossible doctrine of "nuclear superiority" to formal national policy. This trend is underscored by development of the MX and Trident II missiles which possess massive warheads and are increasingly difficult to verify.

Such use of our best technology contributes to impoverishing our domestic society and seriously undermines strategic stability on a world scale.

An accelerating arms race is now accompanied by shamelessly menacing

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statements. Secretary of State Alexander Haig speaks of undefined "interests" whose defense is worth the price of nuclear war. Strategic planners Colin Gray and Keith Payne theorize that the US could still be said to have won a nuclear war even if as many as 20 million Americans died. Richard Pipes, now a top advisor at the White House, warns that war is unavoidable unless the Soviet Union changes its social system.

A group of US and Soviet physicians concerned about nuclear war, which recently met in the suburbs of Washington, D.C., reminded the world that there is no such thing as "winnable" or "limited" nuclear war. In a nuclear exchange there would be no meaningful medical services, the physicians warned. The only function for those doctors who themselves remained ambulatory would be to administer morphine to a few of the dying. Dr. Bernard Lown of Harvard University pointed out that a nuclear bomb falling on one American city would exhaust *all* the nation's medical resources just to cope with burn victims. Dr. Thomas Chalmers of the Mount Sinai Medical School spoke of "people taking weeks to die, screaming to be shot, with no medical help available. . . . Our whole concept of a civilized response to a tragedy is totally inapplicable." The living, indeed, would envy the dead. Dr. Evgeny Chazov, Leonid Brezhnev's personal cardiologist, criticized the "limited" nuclear war doctrine, observing that a one-megaton explosion in a Soviet city would kill about 300,000 people immediately and wound or burn another 300,000. With four-fifths of the doctors among the victims and with most hospitals, drugs, and food supplies exhausted, Dr. Chazov concluded that "we could not help the people." And yet, the US administration pursues the specter of nuclear and expanded conventional war (as if a simple separation between the two were possible) with numbing regularity.

This new cold war gathered momentum in the mid-seventies in the midst of a hopeful atmosphere for detente. Some United States policymakers had grasped the fact that the costs of Vietnam and of maintaining 2,500 military bases around the world contributed to a widespread inflation and seriously weakened the US dollar. They had taken into account the increased tempo of nationalization of resources in the liberated developing nations and the continuing consolidation of the maturing economies of the socialist states. In the face of persistent US balance-of-payments deficits and a declining civilian economy prospects for increased trade upon the easing of international tensions looked promising.

As the Soviet Union and the United States approached rough parity in military forces, there was hope for serious efforts to achieve arms control and for a sane, realistic policy towards the socialist states and the developing nations based upon expanding economic cooperation and political equality.

Though a vast majority of Americans endorsed detente and the SALT process by wide margins, that trend was never given an opportunity to prevail. Even as the international climate improved, a coalition of hard-line anti-communists, representatives of the powerful military-industrial complex, and business and political leaders unable to adjust to a rapidly changing world pressed for a new round in the arms race. While Soviet President Brezhnev at the 25th Soviet Party Congress in 1976 called for a final rebuff to the cold war and for "a turn from explosive tensions to . . . normal, mutually beneficial cooperation," these forces proclaimed a fictitious "dollar gap" between the US and the USSR in military spending. Thus began a desperate counter-attack to revive the lost hope of military superiority.

The mid-seventies saw the collapse of the Portuguese empire, the defeat of efforts to dismember the new revolutionary government in Ethiopia, and a surge of social change from southeast Asia to southern Africa to the horribly poor neo-colonies of Central and South America. Those indigenous movements, representing the aspirations of the suffering poor of the Third World were increasingly castigated as examples of Soviet "expansionism" and Cuban "adventurism." The current phrase is "terrorism."

A media blitz aimed at swaying public opinion played upon allegations of Soviet strategic growth (and on the contradictory theme of disarray in the socialist community). Racism and jingoism were called upon to inflame the public against developing nations' efforts to control their own resources.

Long before events in Afghanistan and Poland, US policymakers sought to assert a military and strategic presence in a so-called arc of instability, now called "a zone of vital interests" along the southern borders of the Soviet Union and through its neighbors' territories. The contravention of peaceful coexistence and the carefully built structure of negotiations was direct and open. In 1978, Washington pressured its NATO partners into increasing their military budgets, and in 1979 applied additional pressure to get NATO assent to deployment of a new generation of medium-range cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe. In 1979 Jimmy Carter projected an unprecedented five-year program of military spending to cost one trillion dollars, half the entire amount spent on military hardware since 1945. Before the events in Afghanistan, Washington froze ratification of SALT II, accelerated US naval presence in the Persian Gulf region, the Indian Ocean and around the Horn of Africa and fashioned a "rapid deployment force" for interventions in the developing world. At the same time, the US undertook a provocative rapprochement with China, rekindling among cold warriors the hope of encircling the USSR militarily. Now even the heralded space shuttle augurs

the use of outer space for nuclear and charged-particle-beam warfare.

Did the USSR push the United States to a truculent foreign policy? In the new cold war catechism the answer is yes. The "Soviet threat" accusation ranges from the non-existent Soviet "combat brigade" in Cuba, to alleged adventurism in nearly every part of the world.

But Soviet policy, and the specific record of hard-won agreements, ranging from the nuclear test ban treaty of 1963 to SALT II (agreed upon but not ratified by Washington) challenges the "Soviet threat" mania upon which much of the new cold war is built. While the counterattack against detente was unfolding, the 25th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1976 outlined USSR policy at the highest levels, calling for the dissolution of military blocs and for a variety of realizable arms control measures as stepping stones towards ultimate general and complete disarmament.

At the recent 26th Soviet Party Congress the Central Committee's report delivered by Leonid Brezhnev underscored the consistency of Soviet policy and its further development and amplification in light of the recent direction of the United States and NATO.

For those who are wary of public statements by political leaders it is necessary to stress the unique place of the Party Congress in Soviet life. The Congress sums up the nation's political and social path and is the arena for adjusting policy in light of new developments. It is a barometer of Soviet life and a vessel of self-criticism. It establishes new objectives and mobilizes society to fulfill them. With such a sensitive mission, the Congress must powerfully and accurately reflect the direction and content of the nation's domestic and foreign policy. Its voice must be clear and authoritative. The space between the private and public aspects of diplomacy dissolves in the discussion of Soviet policy on a variety of concerns. One need not agree with the Congress' assessments or sympathize with its outlook in order to appreciate the significance of its statements. In light of the present crisis, so much of which is built upon a contrived picture of Soviet capabilities and intentions, the people of the United States, in our deepest self interest, must hear the voices of the 26th Congress.

As in previous years, the report of the Soviet President is devoid of the truculence, arrogance, and accusation characteristic of Washington's pronouncements. There is not the slightest analogue to Ronald Reagan's

assessments that the Soviets will "lie and cheat" and commit any crime to advance their interests. Instead, Brezhnev proposes a possible US-Soviet summit conference in light of past experience that such meetings contribute to easing tensions.

There is far more in the report that the US press has indicated. It refutes the endless stream of cold war accusations point by point. Every leading US body concerned with arms control or intelligence-gathering has affirmed the essential parity in military forces which Brezhnev emphasizes. Such groups as the CIA and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) affirm that the US actually leads the USSR in target destruction capability.

While the United States is insulated by vast oceans and friendly neighbors, no less than 386 US-NATO military bases are on the frontiers of the Soviet Union, and its great eastern border is shared with a Peking regime which cooperates with the strategic and political objectives of Washington and NATO. ACDA affirms that by the mid-eighties the United States and Soviet strategic forces will be equal in the sense of both being able to retaliate against nuclear attack. A close reading of official United States estimates of Soviet military power offers not a shred of evidence that the Soviets seek military superiority now or in the future. Brezhnev reiterates that point, citing parity as safeguarding world peace and stimulating concrete efforts to control and reduce armaments. At the same time, he cautions, it is futile for Washington or anyone else to seek superiority over the Soviets. The source of danger, then, is not a mythical Soviet threat, but an insane effort to outstrip each other in the arms race. The report emphasizes that "the USSR wants normal relations with the USA. There is simply no other sensible way from the point of view of the interests of our two nations and of humanity as a whole."

During the postwar decades, at times of both relative weakness and strength of their own forces, the Soviet Union has proposed a world disarmament conference, renunciation of a nuclear first strike, the prohibition of production of all nuclear weapons and their gradual reduction until complete elimination, a total ban on weapons tests. It has advocated steps to prohibit the spread of nuclear arms, including security guarantees to non-nuclear states, nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, freezing the size of conventional armed forces, limiting sales of conventional arms, coordinated reductions of military budgets, and many other proposals.

With a tone of urgency wrought by impending escalation in development of weapons of mass destruction, and the growing difficulty of limiting and verifying them, the main report to the 26th congress again stresses Soviet willingness to negotiate limits on weapons on all types. The report repeats, upgrades and amplifies various proposals. Among these are:

- non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states prohibiting deployment on their territory.
- halting manufacture of nuclear weapons and reduction of stockpiles until their complete elimination.
- a permanent ban on neutron weapons and all other types of mass destruction weapons.
- a pledge of no first use of nuclear or conventional weapons by the participants in the European Security Conference.
- creation of non-nuclear zones in Africa and the Middle East, and establishment of peace zones in Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean.
- new confidence-building measures for advance notification of military exercises in Europe, and their extension to the European part of the USSR in return for a similar extension by NATO, as well as talks for such measures in the highly sensitive Far East where the Soviet Union, China and Japan face each other and where the US maintains military bases.
- limiting deployment of Trident and Typhoon submarines and a ban on new types or modernization of their missiles.

To break the vicious cycle of nuclear missile buildup in Europe, a moratorium was proposed on the deployment of new medium-range nuclear weapons of the NATO countries and the Soviet Union. (The other Warsaw Treaty countries possess no nuclear weapons.) On April 7, 1981, speaking in Prague, Brezhnev again called for a moratorium on European "theater" weapons. He pointed out that German Chancellor Schmidt and Secretary Haig had affirmed the essential parity in European nuclear forces, though Haig had expressed anxiety over a possible Soviet advantage by the mid-eighties. If that were the case, Brezhnev noted, the Western powers "should logically have jumped at our proposal." While the US media trumpeted Brezhnev's few words on Poland in that speech, his larger theme, a plea for "businesslike, constructive negotiations," received little attention.

On April 8 the NATO defense ministers dismissed this proposal as failing to address "the fundamental problem caused by the buildup of Soviet arms." This despite the conclusion by Western sources ranging from the West German journal *Die Welt* to the leading US arms specialist Raymond Garthoff that the Soviet SS-20 missile does not alter the missile balance in Europe and is no justification for installing cruise and Pershing II missiles.

Yet, such persistent efforts to find a sure road to peace cannot be ignored or distorted for long.

We are repeatedly told that the Soviets pursue a policy of "adventurism" in the developing nations, seeking influence, domination and strategic advantage. What is the record? What is the policy? The report to the 26th Congress is explicit. The great tide of national liberation can only be welcomed by all

progressive humanity. Each newly-freed nation follows a different path of social development and organizes its internal life according to its own tradition and political will. The Soviet Union and other states in the socialist community have extended assistance and cooperation to liberated states, particularly those following a socialist orientation which have vigorously sought such help. Thus, socialist states have assisted liberated nations to defend their sovereignty and have rendered scientific and technical assistance of such magnitude as to allow them to develop their own resources efficiently and assure their own economic independence. Such independence, in turn, is a cornerstone of peace and stability, a powerful lever for eliminating imperialism and neocolonialism which have been the breeders of war in the modern era.

The American public is told that the Soviet Union poses a threat to Iran. However, Soviet policy as expressed in the report emphasizes support for the desire of the Iranian people to seek their own prosperity and freedom. The essentially progressive nature of the Iranian revolution is discussed with warmth, as the report underscores the desires of the Soviet Union to develop good relations with its neighbor, based on the principles of equality and reciprocity. The report rejects the notion that there is inherent antagonism between Islam and social change, and emphasizes Communists' respect for people's religious convictions, Islamic and otherwise.

As the volatile Middle East conflict continues, spilling over to Lebanon and escalating the killing and the festering tragedy of the refugee camps, the need for a comprehensive settlement guaranteed by all major powers and based on affirmation of the national aspirations of all the region's people becomes more urgent. Both logic and history compel abandonment of cold war strategic politics in the Middle East and a new commitment to international cooperation, to guarantee sovereign rights and the creation of a true regional zone of peace.

The US public has been told repeatedly that the Soviet Union "fishes in the troubled waters" of the Middle East and seeks a stranglehold over the oil "lifeline" of the Western industrial powers. The Brezhnev report observes that the Camp David accords have only led to further deterioration in the region, and urges return to "an honest collective search for an all-embracing just and realistic settlement." The Soviet Union, Brezhnev notes, is prepared to participate in a joint effort with all Arab interests, Israel, the US and the European countries to secure a durable peace based upon an end to Israeli occupation of all territories seized in 1967, acceptance of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination "up to and including the establishment of their own state," and security and sovereignty of all regional states including Israel.

These proposals, reaffirmed at the 26th Congress, demand consideration,

as do proposals relating to the Persian Gulf first made by the Soviet leader on a visit to India and also reiterated at the party congress: talks for great power guarantees on non-interference with the flow of oil from the region (a stark refutation of the claim that the Soviets seek to control Middle East oil), security for Middle East states and demilitarization of that sensitive area.

Some have argued, the report notes, that Afghanistan should not be separated from a search for Persian Gulf security. Indeed, recent reports in the US media, confirmed by independent observers, describe the unrelenting influx of arms and insurgents into Afghanistan from the territories of its neighbors. In this light, the Kahul government has indicated its readiness to enter into accords with its neighbors to eliminate this problem and thus to lay the basis for withdrawal of Soviet troops.

Despite the US use of Afghanistan as the whipping dog of a new cold war, informed public opinion the world over knows that a revolutionary regime came to power as a result of internal social and political upheaval in that impoverished nation, and that the Afghan government's legitimacy cannot be bartered. For its part, the Soviet Union has indicated its readiness to discuss the security interests of Afghanistan and all states in the area, in order to end interventions and establish peaceful relations in the region.

The report reiterates the Soviet Union's support for the developing nations' demand for a massive reordering of the world's wealth. The ability of developing nations to obtain help from friends in their struggles for self-determination is one of the significant developments of our time, which cannot be altered or reversed. The world cannot return to the days of the Versailles Treaty when leaders of colonial and dependent nations stood before the industrial powers as helpless supplicants with hands outstretched. The social transformation which began in 1917 changed all that.

In the lexicon of the new cold war, an imperial Russian bear tyrannizing over its domain symbolizes relations between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Reality provides a different picture.

The socialist states have entered into an expansive, complex system of economic and scientific cooperation, in search of an intensely rational, efficient sharing and development of resources for the good of all. Such massive efforts, involving complex economic planning and enormous expenditures of human energy are not without serious complications at times. But each socialist state shares the best of its experiences—from agricultural cooperatives in Hungary to rationalized production in the German Democratic Republic to the social maintenance system in Czechoslovakia. Specialization and cooperation involving 120 multilateral and more than 1,000 bilateral agreements has resulted in a combined growth rate in the past ten years twice

that of the developed capitalist countries. At the same time, the socialist states have responded to the urgent economic and social needs of such friends as Vietnam and Kampuchea with large shipments ranging from building and medical supplies to arms.

The process of convergence of economic and social activity among the socialist countries does not obliterate the specific historical traditions and national features of each state. Respect for diversity, then, becomes the foundation for unity and assures "a wealth of ways and methods of establishing a socialist way of life."

Brezhnev's remarks on Poland are enlightening for the US reader. The media has conjured a picture of hard-line Soviet bullies interfering in the internal affairs of Poland and conspiring to crush a grass-roots union movement (which it gives far more sympathy than it ever extends to unions in this country). The Brezhnev report acknowledges both external pressures aimed at subverting a socialist society and profound "mistakes and miscalculations in home policy." That complex interpenetration of factors jeopardizes the socialist principles to which the vast majority of Poles continue to adhere. While reaffirming support for the Polish Communists, Brezhnev urges them "to pay close heed to the voice of the masses, resolutely to combat all signs of bureaucracy, . . . actively to develop socialist democracy, and to conduct a well-considered and realistic policy in foreign economic relations." Such authoritative words are a far cry from US media images of hard-fisted resistance to change and mass initiatives, and massive Warsaw Pact armies poised to intervene in Poland, and are in striking contrast to the stream of provocative warnings from Washington to the USSR about its relations with Poland.

The discussion of relations between the Soviet Communists and other Marxist parties is also instructive. While stressing that the dynamics of class relations on a world scale ultimately mitigates differences among parties and logically unites them in common struggle, the report also acknowledges increasingly complex circumstances which promote diverging appraisals and different approaches to critical issues. Brezhnev affirms that "no one is imposing any stereotypes or patterns that ignore the distinctions of any country," and emphasizes that "all the socialist countries . . . carried out the revolution in their own way, using forms that were dictated by the correlation of class forces in each of these countries, by national distinctions, and the external situation." The report readily affirms that the Soviet party "hewed its way through virgin land to establish the first socialist state." In that historic process, many mistakes were made, mistakes that must not be replicated. Thus, the old saw about "orders from Moscow" dissolves in a call

for honest discussion of differences among equals and a reassertion that "the great unifying principle, a powerful factor furthering cohesion and enhancing the prestige of the world communist movement, is the Communists' unremitting struggle for peace. . . ." It is this unifying commitment that further obliged Brezhnev to stress the importance of cooperation between Communists and "Social Democrats, trade unions, religious circles, and all democratic and peace-loving forces in the matter of preventing war and strengthening peace."

In keeping with customary practice, major segments of the main report relate to internal economic and social life. Such discussion should not elude the US observer, for the internal achievements, values, and aspirations of a society are inseparably related to that society's foreign policies. A nation that savages its own people and girds its domestic life to exploitation and regimentation will behave in a similar manner on a world scale. A society whose first priority is realization of the highest material and spiritual needs of its people will also pursue a humane and constructive course in the international arena.

On a broad social plane, the 26th Congress stresses the need to move towards the end of a society with class divisions, to obliterate the material and cultural distinctions between urban and rural life, to encourage through the creation of better conditions throughout the society an efficient dispersal of population, to strengthen family life and ease the burdens of women who bear heavy responsibility for both home and work. In working to deepen the friendship among peoples in a multinational society, the report emphasizes the task of fighting all forms of chauvinism and nationalism which divide working people, rejecting both the artificial obliteration of national identities and the artificial inflation of those identities.

Far different from the standard US media portrait of a society ruled by a geriatric elite, the 26th Congress resounded with pleas for initiatives from the grass roots of Soviet society. The trade unions were pressed to more vigorously question the fulfillment of labor agreements and adherence to safety regulations, as well as to challenge violations of labor law and bureaucratic practices. "Socialist commitments" must be formulated from below, not handed down from above, and working teams must take a more forceful role in the direction of day-to-day activity in factories, schools and in the arts.

Within the party, democratic centralism was defined as a "two-way link" between leaders and rank-and-file with openness, responsiveness, accountability, democratic processes and a relentless spirit of criticism and self-criticism ("with no condoning of those who muzzle criticism"), stressed

as the hallmarks of behavior for the leading body in Soviet society.

The poisoned cloud of war is seeded by fabrication, distortion and the myth of the "Soviet threat." That cloud threatens our most precious possession, life itself. It permits the wealth of our country to be drained from the pockets of the public to the vaults of the military-industrial complex. It encourages the unspeakable policy adopted by those in power to dismantle social services and to systematically transfer the burdens of a contracting economy to the poor for the benefit of the rich. It leads to a continuing erosion of elementary public services, undermines our individual freedom, and obliterates a humane community.

The main report to the 26th Congress by Leonid Brezhnev does not suggest that we emulate Soviet values and aspirations; rather, the report offers an important opportunity to respond in our own national interest—to question Washington's pronouncements on Soviet intentions, to insist upon an opportunity to test Soviet peace proposals in the arena of negotiations, to accept a challenge to turn away from confrontation and towards a great competition to determine which social system can best meet the needs of its citizens in a peaceful world. "To safeguard peace—no task is more important now on the international plane . . . for all peoples of the world." Those sentiments in the Brezhnev report cross ideological and political boundaries and touch every rational human being. And that sentiment can only contribute to helping our nation reclaim the best within our own national tradition—decency, social progress—and peace. □

DAVID LAIBMAN

Incentives, Planning and Socialist Construction

Some Thoughts on the 26th CPSU Congress and the Start of the 11th Five-Year Plan

The Five-Year Plans are now a firm tradition in socialist practice and thought throughout the world. They are applied in the development strategies of socialist countries, and of developing countries embarking on a socialist-oriented path; they symbolize the goal of rapid, sustained, comprehensive growth and the lifting of formerly underdeveloped and overexploited economies and peoples to the threshold of modern technology and living standards. An appraisal of the progress of planning and socialist economic development in the USSR always has meaning, therefore, beyond the borders of that country alone; and this is true despite the fact that there is no Soviet "model" that can be installed ready-made elsewhere, and that there have been serious problems and obstacles as well as basic success in the Soviet experience.

We may well begin, then, with a summary table that shows both the progress and the gaps between promise and performance that characterize the Soviet economy. With a summary of earlier stages of socialist construction and the concepts appropriate to those stages as background, we will be able to consider the changes in planning and management now contemplated or underway, and offer some thoughts about the future.

Several things emerge from this table. First, and of foremost importance, is the fact that the Soviet economy has grown steadily and significantly, and at rates which for the most part outstrip the performance of the capitalist economies. Industrial output, for example, has grown by almost 80 per cent in the decade covered by the 9th and 10th FYPs, compared to (about) 40 per cent in the United States. If we were to examine the annual or quarterly figures, we would also see that USSR growth is steady and proportional, while that of the

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Five-Year Increases In Various Indicators of the Soviet Economy,
Over Three Five-Year Plans (Per Cent)

	9th FYP 1971-75		10th FYP 1976-80		11th FYP 1981-85
	Planned	Actual	Planned	Actual	Planned (Guidelines)
National Income	39	28	28	20	18-20
Industrial Output	47	43	36	24	26-28
Labor Productivity (Industry)	39	34	31	17	23-25
Agricultural Output (annual average)	20-22	2	16	8	12-14
Real Per Capita Income	31	24	21	18	16-18

US is zig-zag, with spurts alternating with declines. Nothing in the Soviet data leads to any conclusion other than a reaffirmation of the balanced and rapid character of socialist economic growth, combining the advantages of comprehensive planning, full employment, and high rates of investment.

The second conclusion, however, points to a clear recent tendency for the plans to be *incompletely fulfilled*, with actual results below the targetted levels (this of course does not mean that the goals of the plan, in a basic qualitative sense, are not met); and a tendency for the plan targets themselves to be lowered in each successive plan. This of course is the source of the literature on the slowing-down of the Soviet economy. While the data do not support the lurid accounts of a "crisis," they still should be of concern to serious observers, and may indeed amount to a "crisis" of sorts—not in the capitalist sense, but in relation to the standards of socialist growth and the urgent need to overcome barriers to it.

Three additional things about the data are noteworthy. First, the reductions in growth rates have occurred for all indicators of the economy, and were expressed in the form of downwardly revised plans; thus, the balanced character of growth has not been lost, and the slowing down of growth does not involve the disorganization which is characteristic of recessions in capitalist economies. Second, the projected share of productivity increases in the increase in industrial output in the 11th FYP is 88-90 per cent, as compared to 79 per cent in the 9th FYP period and 71 per cent in the 10th. (The productivity share of output growth is roughly the ratio of the growth rate of productivity to that of output.) This reflects a major concern of Soviet planners today, a concern which is also a signpost of the necessary transition

which the Soviet economy is now entering: the need to switch from reliance on extensive sources of growth—growth in the labor force (including the drawing-out of underemployed labor from agriculture), and rising capital investments—to almost complete reliance on intensive sources—growth of labor productivity and efficiency in the use of material inputs.

That this transition is incorporated in the 11th FYP is illustrated by the third observation about the data: While the 10th FYP projected *targets* which were below the *results* of the preceding period (one exception: agriculture), this is not true for the 11th FYP. The targets are above the results for the 10th FYP period (in the case of real per capita income, substantially equal to those results). This means that fulfillment of the 11th FYP (in the quantitative sense) would amount to a reversal of the downward trend in growth rates. It remains to be seen, of course, whether this will be achieved.

The new steps in Soviet planning cannot be described without first setting the stage. We will need to consider briefly the main features of the system of planning and management, and the stages through which these features have emerged.

In the prewar period, beginning with the GOELRO electrification plan and control figures of the 1920s and the First FYP, 1928/29 to 1932/33, planning was essentially *project planning*. Resources were earmarked for major industrial construction projects and drawn from the rest of the economy, which limped along as best it could, making do with whatever was left over. While this early form of planning was essential in laying the foundations of industry and establishing irreversibly a culture of industrialization and urbanization among the country's fledgling working class, it clearly did not yet amount to a system of *overall planning*, in which all of the sectors of the economy are prefigured into a consistent whole.

During the first post-war decades, such a system emerged. It is useful to characterize this system as one of *comprehensive planning*, which includes but is not limited to *central planning*. Nevertheless, in this, second, stage, the bulk of the actual planning was done at the center, by the State Planning Board (Gosplan). In this system of "detail planning from above," the producing enterprises were given detailed lists of plan indicators, or targets, specifying for the enterprises a complete assortment of planned outputs, techniques to be used, material inputs and machinery to be used, size of the wage fund, etc. For their part, the planners at the center, relying on whatever data they could gather, would construct "material balances"—tables specifying the sources and uses of each product. By juggling the material balances, the planners worked to achieve rough consistency among all the inter-industry flows—a consistent plan—which would then be the basis for physical allocations of

capital goods to enterprises, and final outputs to the retail trade network. Enterprise plans were specified in terms of physical units of output, either by weight or by number of items; increasingly, toward the end of this period, in terms of the ruble value of output.

This system was a major breakthrough in planning. For the first time—one hopes it will not seem hyperbolic to say, for the first time *in history*—there existed an *intentional economy*: one in which the system of economic activities is appropriated to human consciousness, foreseen, subjected to human control.

One cannot resist here a parallel with an earlier breakthrough in the emergence of *labor*—the conscious acting-upon-and-transforming the external world, which is definitive of the human species—from the passive, unconscious acted-upon relation of other species of life to their natural environment. ("What distinguishes the worst of architects from the best of bees is this, that the architect raises his structure in his imagination before he raises it in reality."—Marx.) In the emergence of comprehensive planning, we have this same quality, now writ large upon the entire socioeconomic system.

On a more mundane level, the system of centralized planning—the lower phase, as it were, of the stage of comprehensive planning—permitted rapid and *balanced* growth (as compared with the earlier project-planning stage). It shared with that earlier stage, however, the feature that growth relied almost entirely on extensive sources.

The limitations of the system are well known (some critics of socialist planning know *nothing else!*). To summarize briefly: In the absence of accurate, up-to-date information, the planners formulate enterprise plans on the basis of previously achieved levels. If an enterprise produced x units of output last year, this year it will be given a plan to produce, say, $1.08x$. Enterprises are thus given an incentive to conceal reserves, to hold back on possible innovations, and to distort the information given to the center. Results are measured in tons of output or number of units produced; if the first, the enterprise will concentrate only on heavy items, if the second only on light ones. In either case, there is no incentive to produce spare parts; hence no spare parts. If the plan is set in terms of the value of output, the enterprise is encouraged to use expensive materials rather than cheaper ones, since the material cost is included in the price of output. Even more fundamentally, a detailed plan handed to the enterprise from above is bound to be inconsistent, since it is based on poor information. The target for output may, for example, be unreachable if the enterprise stays within the plan for materials cost or wage fund, or vice versa. In this case, the enterprise management is free to violate the plan as it chooses, and the effectiveness of planning itself is weakened.

The solution to the inherent weakness of the early top-down approach was to complete the system of comprehensive planning by the addition of planning at the enterprise level. Thus *comprehensive* planning combines central planning with planning at the lower levels. It is crucial to understand that central and decentral planning complement and require each other. Without good local planning of detail, the aggregative information available at the center is distorted and inadequate; without central planning of the overall proportions of the economy, local planning would be contingent, planning in the dark. To strengthen one level is to strengthen the other; the problem of "centralization versus decentralization" is a pseudo-problem. Decentral planning is entirely different from atomistic decentralization, in which the local units act in isolation from one another and in ignorance of the aggregate outcome of their activity. In the comprehensive system, once the local and central plans have been established, they become law, so that the activities of the local units are mutually visible and comprehensible.

The question which emerges at this stage is: How are central and decentral planning made to fit together? The answer: by a system of *iteration*, repeated flows of information from the center to the localities and back again. Gosplan formulates overall targets for industries and the Ministries break them down to the enterprise level. The enterprise thus gets from the top not a detailed plan, but the outlines of a plan: general output (*not* the detailed assortment of output), an upper limit to employment, a target for productivity increase, and a few others. The enterprise then works out *its own* plan in detail, and when it does so it conveys that information (including a detailed shopping list!) back up to the center. The center, then, must revise its overall plan in the light of the new information, reformulate the material balances to a fit, and send the control figures back down. The enterprise then adjusts its plan accordingly, and sends its figures back up. Down, up, down, up. With each iteration, the plan, alternately disaggregated and reaggregated, gradually approaches consistency; this occurs, one hopes after not too many iterations, when the plans as revised by the enterprises are consistent with the figures received by them in the last round. If the divergence get smaller each round, the plan is said to *converge*. Once convergence is achieved, the plan is locked into place.

To complete this picture, it should be added, first, that, in a major development of the 1970s, there is now in most industries a middle level of planning between the Ministries and the enterprises—the industrial associations. These bodies combine the resources of several enterprises in the areas of research and development, marketing, consumer research, etc.; they are constituted on a representative basis out of the enterprises themselves. Finally, the large and increasing role of the trade unions in organizing worker participation at all levels should be mentioned. Union involvement is

guaranteed in the collective agreement, and covers everything from the initial planning phase to the administration of large parts of the enterprise funds.

How can it be insured that the enterprises, given the discretion to formulate their own plans within the overall guidelines handed to them, will act in the general social interest by assuming ambitious plans? How can the distortions, mentioned above, caused by physical output targets or value-of-output targets, be avoided? Here is where the economic reforms, begun in the mid-1960s, come into the picture. Enterprises are rewarded for superior performance by the share of their profits which they get to keep. This share is paid into three funds—material stimulation (bonuses, etc.), housing and cultural, and investment. Now the critical feature of the new formulas for assigning profits to these funds is that the reward is greater if an enterprise plans ambitiously—in the language of the planner, if the enterprise assumes a *taut* plan. If, for example, the current performance of the enterprise is assigned an index of 100, and the enterprise thinks it can achieve a level of 110 next year, it will do better by assuming a plan of 110 and just meeting it, than it would by assuming a plan of 105 and overfulfilling the plan by 5.

In principle, the problem of distortion is met in the following way. In place of the various output, productivity, cost reduction and capital-saving indicators of performance, use just one: the *realized net rate of profit*. (We will see later why this cannot quite be done in practice, at least not yet.) This means that goods will not count toward plan fulfillment unless they are *sold*; that the single indicator will reflect all improvements in productivity, cost reduction, efficient use of capital. (It is important to remember that prices are set by central or local planning bodies, and the enterprise cannot raise its profit by means of price increases.)

Now, the economic reform was begun, with pilot experiments as all things in the USSR begin, in 1965; the major transition to the new system was completed in 1968. Yet it is precisely in the decade of the 1970s that growth rates fall. Evidently, the "crisis" of the extensive system continues to make itself felt; there is an even more serious labor shortage looming over the horizon for the 1980s. If the sources of extensive growth have largely dried up, as evidenced by a fall in the share of investment in national income from 30 to 25 percent in recent years, why has the economic reform not been effective in switching the Soviet economy over to a path of intensive development?

While the answer to this question must be speculative, it is not hard to speculate. You can change the rules; it is much harder to change the people who operate them. Enterprise managers and their staffs are now asked to plan; to innovate; to seek out their own customers and their own sources of supply; to decide on their own investment program, and even to finance it if necessary by borrowing from the state bank. In the old system, one could be confident of

certain grooves—established sources of materials, established lines of communication. With *ad hoc* relations filling out the inadequate top-down planning system, these grooves were vital to the economy, keeping the wheels turning. Some of the grooves were (and are!) actually outside of the "law," so to speak—the "law" being the plan. Change is risky. Enterprises can fulfill the *letter* of the new system by filling in their own plans, but in a way which avoids the *spirit*: Call up friends in the planning apparatus, ask them what to do; trade this sort of cooperativeness for a certain easing up of the norms; and so on. Or: take *unsubstantiated* risks; if they don't work out, the Ministries will make good the losses out of the state budget anyway.

Speaking frankly: An entire generation of Soviet managers had the attributes of caution; ability to take orders from the top without questioning; ability to skillfully reconcile discrepancies in those orders. With that generation in the prime of life, it has been difficult to remove it, to "kick it upstairs." Moreover, it would be wrong to do so! The "old-style" economic leadership is, in addition to being "old-style," a group including many heroes—heroes of the war, and of the economic reconstruction after the war. On top of all this, there is the illusion (which is not unknown in other places and contexts) that the younger people who replace the old guard will somehow automatically free themselves from the taints of the old.

And this brings us to the present.

On July 12, 1979, the USSR Council of Ministers approved a resolution, entitled: "On Improving the Planning and Enhancing the Effect of Economic Management on Raising the Efficiency of Production and the Quality of Work." While many of the changes enacted are not yet firm—they were in fact a major consideration in the discussions preceding the 26th CPSU Congress—some idea can be given of the direction of change in the works.

The time horizon of planning is being extended: there are now 20-year Comprehensive Programs and 10-year Perspective Plans, developed on the scale of the country as a whole and for individual republics and localities. These long-term documents are not obligatory plans, containing targets which the producing units are required to meet; but neither are they mere forecasts. They embody fundamental planning choices, concerning the development of cities, the location of industry, the forms of scientific and technical progress and their association with the production process, the changing role of the educational system, etc. They are based on careful studies and projections, and seek to make explicit the most basic goals of advanced socialist construction. The long-term plans will be interlinked and continuously reformulated: the 10-year plan for 1981–1990, for example, will eventually give way to a 10-year plan, at the same level of generality, for 1986–1995.

The five-year plans are to be given greater importance, and to become, for the first time, the *operative* plans. This means, in particular, that FYPs will be installed for the individual enterprises; up to now the FYPs have been developed only at higher levels, and only the annual plans broken down to the producing units. Further, under the new rules the norms for deduction into the enterprise funds—called "appraisal indicators"—will be stable for the entire five-year period. The enterprises will therefore get the full benefit from achieving productivity goals and successfully introducing technical change, without having to worry about whether the norms will be revised before their efforts take effect.

An enterprise now has, in addition to the plan and the collective agreement signed with the trade union, an Enterprise Passport. This contains a complete specification of the enterprise's capacities and inventories of equipment, and the basic norms of their operation, developed not from achieved levels but from "substantiated" engineering parameters. The Passports are designed to help both in the formulation of plans and in the appraisal of results. For example in establishing a target for productivity increase, and in measuring the extent to which that target is met, the "base" level of productivity will not be some average of the level of current practice, but rather will be derived from *norms* which identify what is possible given the existing technology.

Some rethinking has been done about the drive for taut plans begun in the 1960s. Plans should be ambitious *and* responsible; if they are *too* taut, they leave no room for maneuver, and make the enterprise vulnerable to small changes in inputs, techniques, or the desired assortment of output. Flexibility requires *some* reserves—inventories of inputs, equipment, labor—although these must not be excessive. The FYPs, accordingly, now incorporate planned reserves, which are to be accounted in a way that does not harm the enterprise.

A project is under way to complete, by 1982, a general changeover to "net product standards," by completing the development of an indicator called *normative net output*. The word "normative" implies use of substantiated targets rather than *ad hoc* ones, as discussed above. The "net" part means that enterprises will be judged not by the value of their gross output, but only by the *value added* to the material inputs. This is an attempt to come to grips with the problem of rewarding wastefulness, explained above in connection with the planning-from-above system. Much effort is currently directed toward working out the norms on which this indicator is to be based. The norms must be intensive and still be realistic; they must be stable (not given to rapid fluctuations), and still reflect the latest technological positions; they must be differentiated to accommodate the different conditions in different industries, and still be sufficiently homogenous to permit of inter-industry comparisons. This is, to put it mildly, a tall order!

The changeover to self-financing of enterprises is to be completed, and the attitude "don't worry; the state will make good any losses" uprooted once and for all. In this connection, the enterprise funds will be greatly increased in importance. Enterprises will have both the rights and the rubles to develop their own large-scale reconstruction plans. They will also have more control of their wages funds; following a successful experiment in which 1,200 enterprises participated, enterprises will be entitled to keep any part of the wages fund saved by reducing the workforce. (This is a dissemination of the Shchokino experiment of the early 1970s; it is of course carefully monitored by the trade unions as well as the management bodies so that the saving is carried out by means of innovation, not speedup or overloading, and that the workers displaced are retrained and relocated to their own satisfaction.)

Further changes on the enterprise level: a new target is being added: the share of the enterprise's output that achieves the high-quality mark. This is an effort to make operational the intended emphasis on quality as well as quantity in evaluating the work of economic units. There is also increased emphasis on the role of targets characterizing the final phase of production. This may mean counting products not only built, but sold; in the construction industry, it means that projects are not counted until they are completed.

A final innovation, which really deserves an article by itself, will be the extension of the brigade form of organization within the enterprise. There have always been teams, or brigades, of workers in the enterprises—face-to-face groups of workers small enough so that each member of the brigade can know every other. These are the basic production collectives. What is new is that the brigades will increasingly be going over to self-financing and responsibility for developing and fulfilling their own plans. This, of course, takes place within the enterprise plan, which in turn falls within the plan of the industrial association and the overall industry-wide and economy-wide plans; brigade planning represents a new step in the iterative chain, which only becomes possible when the technology of information flows and the economic and political level of the workforce have developed to a sufficient degree. Together with a rise in the responsibility and importance of the brigade, there is a certain shift toward collective piece rates—wages paid in proportion to output achieved, but not by each individual, rather by the collective as a whole. This is a form of *material* incentive which promotes *collective* consciousness, and which can only be developed when skill and consciousness levels, and differentials, make it possible.

At the level of central planning there are some important developments. One of these is improvement of price formation; discussion of this would take us too far afield. A second is a major increase in the number of product groups for which material balances will be worked out at the center: the number rises from 234 groups in the 10th FYP to 409 in the 11th. This

reflects vastly improved data processing and transmission—computers. But it is also made possible by the improvement in the quality of information received from the lower levels, a result of political and social maturation. It is probably hard for anyone not involved in socialist planning to imagine the extent of this achievement. One gets some idea by comparing it to the recent experience in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, where socialist construction is in its infancy. The SRV's Second FYP, begun in 1976, had to be abandoned midstream as unrealistic; in the reforms which followed the number of centrally planned commodities was reduced from 200 to 10!

A third new feature of central planning is the emergence of target-oriented *comprehensive programs*. These are *specific* projects (although some are of a complex nature), run under single project-oriented managements, and integrated into the planning system. Among the comprehensive programs proposed are: 1) a program for metal and fuel conservation; 2) the Baikal-Amur Railway (BAM); 3) development of the surrounding economy of BAM—the new cities, their housing, education, cultural amenities, etc.; 4) a program for reduction of the share of manual labor in the total—i.e., automation of the most arduous and physically demanding jobs; and 5) development of new types and qualities of consumer goods. There is also a special food program, to link agriculture with processing and trade; this is mentioned in Brezhnev's report.

It should be apparent from even this cursory survey that Soviet socialist planning is in a very exciting stage of its development. Planning technology, including the use of optimal programming, modeling, mathematical techniques, computerized information processing and transmission, is developing by leaps and bounds (in this regard we may note that the computer industry, as a priority industry and a special project of the 10th FYP, continues to grow at more than twice the rate of industry as a whole). More people than ever before are involved in the planning process. Both central planning (as seen in the almost 75 per cent increase in the number of commodities planned centrally) and decentral planning (the emergence of enterprise FYPs, self-financing, and planning at the brigade level) are expanding. The plan indicators are becoming more sophisticated and powerful.

In short, talk emanating from some quarters on the left about "conformity to plan diminishing with time" seems to be entirely baseless. For planning information to be useful, enterprise plans must be visible; the plans are, it must be remembered, public documents. The *need* for effective planning runs counter both to bureaucratic distortions and to "second" economy corruption, black markets, etc.; while both sorts of problems persist, in the context of socialist economy they are dysfunctional obstacles to technical and social

progress alike. By contrast, in capitalist society, these phenomena, rendered invisible by the cloak of spontaneous market relations, are positively functional, necessary props for the private accumulation of wealth.

Soviet planners at all levels make use of a variety of indicators, both as plan targets, or goals, and as measures of performance. Above, the ideal of a single indicator—realized net rate of return—was mentioned. Why, then, do planners still rely on a list of indicators—per cent fulfillment of contracts, net productivity increase, per cent reduction in cost, share of high-quality products? Isn't there still a possibility that some of these goals may conflict with others? It would appear that the level of information (quantity; quality) available at present does not permit the formation of a single, reliable indicator; to unify the indicators ahead of the real possibilities would result in loss of information and planning distortion. The Soviet position on the tradeoff between multiple and unified indicators must be determined by the concrete development of planning in that country; other socialist countries of course evolve their own paths. Another tradeoff occurs between quantitative indicators (however unified), on the one hand; and qualitative assessment, on the other. The German Democratic Republic evaluates managers, and their enterprises, largely on the basis of qualitative presentations. While this method avoids the classic distortions produced by inadequately developed indicators, it also courts the danger of logrolling, favoritism, etc. Again, each socialist country must find the proportions appropriate to its own history and level of technical, social and political development.

A parallel problem exists in the case of incentives: finding the appropriate methods for combining material with moral, and collective with individual. And again, in the case of determining the balance between taut plans and flexibility.

All in all, and mindful of the disappointing trend in growth rates, there is good reason to suggest that the USSR is entering a *third stage* in its planning system; one which brings the comprehensive planning mechanism of the second stage to fruition by perfecting the indicators, bringing the decentral planning process off of paper and into existence, and streamlining central planning so that it can concentrate on fundamentals. In the third stage, the project planning of the first stage reappears on a higher level as the Comprehensive Programs (negation of the negation, if you will), but within the context of overall planning for balanced growth.

Compare Soviet economic performance with that of the capitalist countries, and there is ample reason to reaffirm the view that socialist planning is not the cause of Soviet problems; rather it is a vital part of their solution. The problems indeed only appear as problems against the background of the

monumental achievements of the Soviet economy: stable growth; full employment; financially sound cities, transportation, medical and educational systems; elimination of poverty and social disorganization; a degree of income and wealth equality unknown elsewhere; rapid social and cultural development. When we consider the social goals of the 11th FYP, including substantial progress toward equalizing living standards in city and countryside, universal 10-year education (at Soviet educational standards), and further development of the institutions of "public self-government," and note that in some respects the full potentials of socialist planning have yet to emerge, it is not hard to understand the feeling of pride and expectation expressed at the 26th Congress of the CPSU. □

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WILLIAM POMEROY

At the 26th Congress: The Delegates

It was not until the third day of the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that the report of the Credentials Commission was made. Delivered by Secretary of the Central Committee I.V. Kapitonov, it brought into clearer focus the thousands of delegates who filled to capacity the large auditorium of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

However one tried, gazing at the attentive rows of well-dressed men and women during the sessions, or scanning the mingled, animated throng in the foyers, buffets and cloakrooms at intermission or pre-session times, it was not possible to identify the occupation of any of the delegates. All had the same general air of well-being and dignity, of pride in being there and of confidence that they were important in what was going on. All seemed completely at home and in consonance with that magnificent edifice of marble, mosaics, glass and rich panelling.

Diverse nationalities could be singled out, from the republics of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the Caucasus and elsewhere. Those from party organizations in the army, navy and other branches of the armed forces were in uniform, the only really identifiable grouping. However, for those who recall the paintings of the first post-Revolutionary Party Congresses in which peasant delegates in bast footwear and the capped and leather-jacketted worker are vividly recognizable, it is now impossible to distinguish the Donbas miner delegate from the Novosibirsk physicist, the Leningrad metal worker from the non-black earth zone collective farmer.

The Credentials Report served to break down this anonymity. It revealed that of the total of 5,002 delegates, the largest single group (1,730) were industrial workers, while the second largest (877) were the collective farmers. But this was not the full extent of the worker-farmer representation. Among those classified as party functionaries (1,077) were many who came originally

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from the factory floor or the fields, and the same could be said for many of the 609 directors and managers of the enterprises who were present.

By moving among the delegates at close range during intermission it was possible to pick out many production worker delegates simply because of the awards they were wearing, especially the Hero of Socialist Labor medal, the gold star bearing the hammer and sickle, suspended from its ribbon: 670 delegates were wearing it. It took a bit of staring in most cases to separate this award from numerous others. Of the delegates as a whole, 97 percent had been awarded medals of one kind or another, and a large proportion, men and women alike, had chests covered with these colorful symbols of hard work and noteworthy productive contribution to socialist society.

More women delegates were present than at any previous Party Congress, a total of 1,329. There were 269 delegates who were writers, artists, scientists, teachers and other intellectuals, many of them outstanding figures of the Soviet intelligentsia. There were 118 members of the Academy of Sciences, 19 cosmonauts. Trade union leaders, Komsomol members, deputies of local soviets, diplomats, generals, admirals, border guards were present.

Western correspondents accustomed to garish circuses, debauchery and ruthless infighting at the conventions of capitalist political parties can perhaps be forgiven somewhat for trying to characterize the 26th Congress of the CPSU as dull, cut and dried and unexciting. They didn't have access either to the sessions themselves or to the vast Hotel Rossiya, across Red Square from the Kremlin, where most of the Soviet delegates stayed and where the nights were filled with talk and with the hearty comradeship of Communists meeting from far-flung sites of socialist construction. Or they couldn't understand the attendance by Congress delegates at the opera, ballet, dramatic theaters, museums and art galleries, where the audience was likely to applaud them. There were welcome signs all over Moscow for the delegates, but in comradely greeting, not to entice their wallets.

Only an objective observer could comprehend the immense amount of physical labor, organizational effort, initiative and sheer talent that was compressed in those serious rows of delegates, or that they came charged with the energy from months of country-wide discussion on the substance of the main reports. The delegates were obviously proud of the fact that their discipline and concentration were absolute. During sessions not a sound could be heard, apart from applause, and very seldom did anyone leave his or her seat for any reason, except for standing ovations. Not once in nine days of sitting did the chairman of the day (the chairmanship was rotated among Political Bureau members) have to call the Congress to order or to ask for quiet.

In the relaxation of the foyers and buffets it was rather different. Innumerable meetings of old comrades took place everywhere, with embracing and kissing and animated exchanges of recollections and experiences. Many had not seen each other since the last Congress or since the last All-Union gathering of an organization. In a single cluster there could be seen the coming together of Communists from the Soviet Far East and the Ukrainian wheatlands, from the Tyumen oil region and the Moldavian fruit farms, from Latvian electronic plants and Kazakhstan's Karaganda metallurgical furnaces.

However, it was not a privileged assemblage of the old guard. Over 3,000 of the delegates, more than three-fifths, had been elected to a Congress for the first time, and the extensive introductions that were going on were bringing together the younger and the old generations of Communists. Of the delegates, 4,271 or over 85 percent, had come into the party in the postwar period. Nearly 63 percent were below the age of 50.

In the new Central Committee that was elected on the last day, one-third are new, and this proportion is larger among the alternate members.

Western observers have tended to pass over the influx of relatively youthful but mature members into the leading organs of the Soviet Communist Party. This is especially noticeable among the district secretaries, the industrial managers, and the leaders of factory organizations. What has been played up in the western press is the reelection without change of the Political Bureau and its alternate members, which has been referred to as the old men holding onto power.

Soviet delegates and Central Committee workers to whom I spoke had a very different outlook. They emphatically approved the retention of party leaders, explaining it in this way: "Our people like stability. They feel stability when tested leaders continue to lead. They whole-heartedly support the line of the party and the way the Political Bureau implements it. Besides, the stability conveyed by our continuing leadership is an important factor in the international scene, where unstable conditions exist, especially in the west."

No one could listen to that striking but calm report by Leonid Brezhnev, simply-stated, jargon-free, dealing directly and frankly with central issues and problems both international and domestic, without understanding why he is held in affection and respect by the Soviet people and why his reelection as party general secretary signifies stability to them. In particular the Soviet Union's peace policy with which Leonid Brezhnev is closely identified and that was elaborated in clarity and detail in his report, has the deeply-felt approval of the population.

One of the most reiterated themes in the platform reports and speeches by the delegates, especially those from the districts and from enterprises and

institutions, was the expression of thanks to the Party and its leadership for making it possible to have nearly 36 years of peace, in which to work, to produce, to build, without the shadow and wreckage of war. It was in the report by the president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, A.P. Alexandrov, who said: "Our scientists are profoundly grateful to the Central Committee and to Comrade Brezhnev for their tireless work for international detente and against war."

As V.N. Golubeva, a record-breaking textile worker from the Lenin Worsted Mills in Ivanovo, a Hero of Socialist Labor and a member of the supreme soviet of the Russian Federation, said in her moving speech: "As a worker and mother, for me the most cherished thing is peace." Golubeva was elected to the Central Committee and there can be no difficulty in understanding why she and others like her cast ballots for retention of a Political Bureau that has undeviatingly worked for world peace and disarmament while keeping the defenses of socialist construction strong.

Congress discussion was organized around several levels of participation. Besides the main Central Committee reports delivered by Leonid Brezhnev and Nikolay Tikhonov, the Party general secretaries in each of the Soviet republics spoke, as did the heads of key government ministries. These reports were interspersed with speeches by regional secretaries from selected key party districts, and by speeches from leaders of party organizations in specific enterprises (industrial plants or collective farms). In addition, there was the international level, related to the foreign policy part of Leonid Brezhnev's report, in which the heads of many of the 123 delegations of Communist, Worker and national democratic parties from 109 foreign countries addressed the Congress. In order to enable the widest participation and discussion, the Congress ran for two days longer than is usual.

Foreign delegations, incidentally, had one of the best opportunities for observing the country-wide attention being given to the Congress. Those who could not address the Congress itself, for sheer lack of time, journeyed to numerous other cities and spoke at public meetings on the Congress, or attended Congress meetings in factories and institutions in Moscow or its vicinity.

At the Congress sessions the discussion was not a mere cut-and-dried acceptance of decisions that had been laid down from above. There was some prideful reporting of achievements in the recently completed 10th Plan, but the self-congratulation was minimal: the main attention was given by everyone to the overcoming of problems. Delegates who took the floor were obviously selected for the contribution they could make to the central themes in the draft "Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the

USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period up to 1990." Months of pre-Congress discussion had occurred on this all over the country. Around 121 million Soviet people, in factories, farms and institutions, had taken part, made proposals and amendments, and had approved the guidelines.

The main aim of the new, 11th Five-Year Plan is "the further improvement in the Soviet people's well-being," but in distilling the pre-Congress discussions the delegates focused on the guideline themes of "the transition of the economy to the road of intensive development, the more rational utilization of the country's production potential, the maximum saving of all types of resources, and an improvement in the quality of work." The greatest concern was given to what Leonid Brezhnev described as "the sluggishness, conventions and habits that arose in the period when the quantitative rather than the qualitative aspect of the work loomed the largest."

V.D Naumkin, the delegate from the huge Lenin Iron and Steel Plant in Magnitogorsk, a senior blast furnace attendant, provided, for example, a glimpse of how his plant has already been implementing the guideline's directives. He said that, without increasing plant facilities, the work teams of his plant had put out 5 million *more* tons of iron and 8 million *more* tons of steel in the past plan period. This had been done by intensive use of existing equipment. He mentioned a contributing factor: in his plant "no worker has been late for as long as I can remember." Also, it has been related to the fact that one in every five workers is a Communist party member.

However, Delegate Naumkin was not satisfied. He had his criticisms. The workers could work hard and resourcefully, but they could do only so much with what he said was obsolete equipment. He called for the rebuilding of the plant, the modernizing of equipment, the introduction of new technology. Then, really intensive output and increased productivity could be achieved.

Delegate Naumkin gave another example of how his plant's workers are in tune with guideline aims. They are giving equally intensive attention to the land allotted to the plant in the nearby countryside: in their spare time they are raising 5,000 head of cattle, 11,000 pigs, and large amounts of vegetables in extensive greenhouse areas, thus contributing to the increase in food production that is given major emphasis in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

L.I. Tikhomirova, director of a textile combinat in the Kalinin region, fully endorsed the Plan's guidelines, but also had a criticism to make. She pointed out that her combinat had raised output 2.5 times in the past period due to increased efficiency and raised labor productivity, but the workers could do much more if it were not for the lack of attention by the Ministry of Light Industry to the provision of sufficient raw materials and of adequate machineries. "There is too much wastage due to inadequate cutting machines," said Director Tikhomirova. "Also, our industry is said to be a light industry but it is not so light for our workers who have to move heavy

materials considerable distances between machines." This could be eased by improved equipment.

The chairman of the Put Lenina Collective Farm in the Kirov region, A.D. Chervyakov, elected chairman for 26 years in a row, criticized the lack of sufficient assistance from the Ministry of Agriculture to help in intensifying land use. He also said that often he had to be electrician, plumber, water engineer and master of other trades, when the Ministry of Public Utilities should be doing all these jobs.

On the other hand, a leader of a fitting and assembly team from the Leningrad Metal-Working Plant, V.S. Chicherov, described how his team, through its own innovations, had been able to increase its productivity by fifty percent while cutting its members by a third (an important achievement in view of the shortage of labor in many sectors of Soviet industry). Delegate Chicherov suggested that worker collectives all over the country had developed their own techniques and know-how, and that ways should be devised to make these available for emulation generally.

Throughout the Congress numerous criticisms and proposals of a practical character came from delegates sent by enterprises and from industrial and agricultural regions. These were invariably directly related to guideline aims and conveyed the feeling of active participation from below in formulating and carrying out the new, 11th Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union.

These delegates, therefore, find it hard to suppress smiles when they hear about reports in the Western press decrying the lack of "democracy" at CPSU Congresses. If democracy means, not circuses and spectacles, but rather meaningful participation in shaping one's future, then the democratic process at the 26th Congress was evident for all to see. □

J.J. JOHNSON

The Congress, The Delegates: A First-Hand Report

Are the Communist Party congresses of the Soviet Union democratic? Are the decisions arrived at collectively? Do the decisions actually reflect the will of the people?

After sitting through eight days of deliberations and debates at the 26th Congress and speaking to a number of the delegates, I would not hesitate to answer all of the above questions with a resounding "yes." In fact, the congress was one of the most democratic gatherings I've ever attended.

For example, the guidelines for the economic and social development of the USSR for 1981-1985 were endorsed by the delegates. The report, however, delivered by Nikolay Tikhonov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, was debated and amended as a result of a discussion by more than 125 million Soviet citizens. Few documents anywhere on the globe result from such extensive discussion. Fully half of all the Soviet people had a say in the final report.

Who were the delegates at the Congress? The report by the chairman of the credentials committee, I.V. Kapitonov, stated:

"The delegates to the congress represent the working class, the collective farmers, the people's intelligentsia, all social strata of the population, all walks of life."

"Among the delegates there are 1,370 workers in socialist industry, a larger number than at previous congresses. In this hall we see those who are building the Atomnash Project and the Baikal-Amur Railway, working the mineral deposits of Ekibastuz and the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly, extracting oil and gas in the taiga swamps of Siberia and the burning sands of Central Asia, and creating big new territorial-industrial complexes. Here are also those who make the most sophisticated machinery and equipment, manufacture consumer goods, build houses, and work in transport."

Of the 266 million Soviet citizens in the 15 republics, some 17.2 million are members of the Communist Party. They include representatives of the more than 100 nationalities living in the Soviet Union. In recent years the

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percentage of industrial workers and those of non-Russian nationality have increased, reflecting the economic and cultural advancement of the non-Russian republics, regions and areas, and the increasing leadership role of the industrial workers.

Of the 1.7 million members who joined the CPSU between the 25th and 26th congresses, nearly 60 per cent were industrial workers.

The delegates treated the congress with interest and respect quite different from what I've seen at meetings and conventions of the traditional parties in the US. Even the remarks of the foreign delegates were given the utmost attention. Nothing seemed to be treated lightly.

That is not to say the delegates did not find time for activities outside the Great Hall of the Palace of Congresses.

Of course, most of the worker delegates were not able to take the floor. However, that does not mean their thinking and experiences were not reflected in the final resolutions. The congress resolutions were the results of discussions which took place beginning far below in the party structure.

So, too, was the process that resulted in the selection of congress delegates. Larisa Kiryanova, age 24, was the youngest delegate with whom I spoke. She is a welder at a plant that produces low-voltage equipment. She was born in the town of Ulyanovsk, which she reminded me proudly was Lenin's birthplace.

"How does such a young woman get elected as a delegate to a nationwide party congress?" I asked. She explained that she was first elected by her work team, which she leads. She was later elected at the shop, district, region and republic level.

"All of us who are delegates had to stand four or five elections to eventually get here."

She added, "For me, attending this congress is the proudest moment of my life. I am especially proud because my workmates, most of whom are older than I, expressed confidence in me by voting for me to represent them."

Kiryanova is too young to have seen war in her country, but she too shared the national concern for world peace. She mentioned her joy upon hearing of the peace initiatives in the US, and added, "We here, young and old, are concerned about relations between your country and mine. Therefore, we are extremely happy to know that even at such difficult times, it is still possible to find a common language."

During breaks in the proceedings, delegates exchanged notes, experiences and autographs. Many snapped and posed for photographs with others from different regions. Many sought discussions with foreign guests through interpreters. The delegates I spoke to displayed a far greater knowledge of the

US than US citizens possess about the USSR. A major concern was whether the bellicose stance of the Reagan Administration actually reflected the dominant sentiment of the US people. Almost all discussions centered around the two inseparable questions of peace and economic advancement.

Sergey Chekalin Chernyakov is the leader of a construction team in the Zhitomir region of the Ukraine. He is 50 years old, as is his wife, who is a doctor. In fact, a large percentage of the delegates with whom I spoke with were either workers married to what would be termed professionals in the US, or vice versa. This common occurrence reflects the overcoming of class differences. Interestingly, in most such cases of couples, it was the worker in the family, and not the professional, who was the delegate.

Chernyakov used the former congresses as signposts to measure his rising standard of living through the years. "For me, the congress is the cap on our work," he said. "We know that we have reached a point in our country and the development of socialism in which the material benefits are based on individual and collective work. Everyone's standard of living on my team has risen considerably since the last congress because we fulfilled the last five-year plan in three years. We have promised to fulfill the 11th plan in four years."

The Chernyakov family lives in a three-bedroom house which was built by the team members. Last year Chernyakov was awarded a cash prize by the government for his labor achievements. When asked what he did with the prize money, he answered, "I have a nice home, a car, a color TV. So I donated the money to the Soviet peace fund."

Ivan Golubyatnikov is a 29-year-old miner from the Donbas region of the Ukraine. His huge hands seemed to belie his gentle handshake. Golubyatnikov is descended from a long line of miners. "The men in my family have spent a total of 308 years in the mine and the work has been good to us. Both my father, who worked in the mines for 28 years, and my uncle were heroes of socialist labor," he told me.

When I asked him about the dangers in the mines, he looked at me quizzically. "Everyone knows that our safety standards are the highest in the world," he affirmed. "We are also among the highest paid workers in the country. That is because workers are held in the highest esteem here."

Golubyatnikov's wife is a full-time cultural worker and his two daughters, ages five and six, attend school near home. He works a 30-hour week, six hours a day. Last year he had 45 days of vacation. He makes enough money to afford a vacation abroad every year.

What impressed him most about the Congress? "Brezhnev's emphasis on the average worker and the recognition he gave to those workers whose extra efforts have made the congress a success."

He, too, mentioned the struggle for peace. "We have no use for war. It

benefits no one."

It is said that Georgians are aggressive and outgoing. Alexandra Habasakolova, a team leader on a collective farm in the Georgian Republic, did not have to be coaxed. She approached me and struck up a conversation through my interpreter.

After describing my impressions of the congress, I asked her to talk a little about herself.

"I have been married 23 years, and during that time I have raised three boys and two girls. I have been a member of the party district committee for 11 years. Being in the party gives me no privileges. In fact, it places special responsibilities upon me."

"Why then," I asked, "do you remain in party leadership and not devote your time to other pursuits?"

"I did not seek leadership in the party," she said. "But if my comrades ask me to take leadership positions because of my abilities, I cannot refuse. Also, my comrades see to it that my activities do not place a special burden on my family."

After describing the rising standard of living of all the members of her collective farm, her constant smile dissolved from her face. She stated firmly, "For us, *peace* is the number one priority. We are happy that we have consumer goods which we never dreamed of having only several years ago, but what we want above all is to live in peace."

There were those who emphasized the report on the five-year plan. Among them was Samadov Baba Samadovich, a harvester on a state farm in the Ordzhonikidze region of Azerbaijan. He is 47, is married to a 47-year-old physical education instructor, and has four children, ages 19 to 26. He has been a party member for 20 years.

"I'm most impressed with Comrade Tikhonov's report because of its thoroughness. He dealt with all the aspects of our economy. And I feel that the report took into account the discussion throughout the country."

He was confident that all the workers on his farm would welcome the report and immediately make plans to implement the guidelines.

It was while discussing Brezhnev's report that he, too, made his way to the question of peace: "The delegates have great respect for Brezhnev because we have had clear skies for almost 36 years. We can see what is happening abroad, and we know these are dangerous times, but we are confident that peace can be preserved."

Alexander Kolesnikov is a Ukrainian miner who has been on the central committee for 10 years. He spoke from the rostrum at the Congress about both the accomplishments and problems of the Soviet miners.

"We will overfulfill our quotas, as we have in the past. However, the Coal Ministry must make it possible for the miners to surpass it. We need new equipment. We need spare parts. We need more assistance from the Ministry of Heavy Industry. We realize that to live better, we must work better. We must be given every assistance."

I asked Kolesnikov if he felt his pleas would be heeded. He answered, "There is no doubt in my mind that we will be given whatever assistance is needed in reaching our goals."

Another question I discussed with a number of delegates was that of women in the party leadership. One middle-aged woman delegate answered, "Social problems are not solved all at once. We realize that at each new stage the party is faced with the problem of preparing the people, ideologically and politically, for new achievements and goals. The emancipation of women has always been an important aspect of the party's work. That is not to say that we have advanced quickly enough. The important factor, though, is that we are advancing.

"This congress has a greater percentage of women than any previously. New measures were adopted here to free women to spend more time in production and party work. The number of women on the central committee and in party leadership on the local and regional level has also increased. We realize that we must do more and we will do more."

Another woman delegate, Stepanida Vishtak, the team leader of a brigade of sugar beet growers, has five Orders of Lenin and has twice won the Hero of Socialist Labor award. She pointed proudly to a section of the guidelines for the 11th five-year plan and said, "That point was not in the original draft. It was proposed by the workers on my farm."

Lilia Dyachkova, a pediatrician from the Belgorod region of the Russian Federation, said from the rostrum: "We Soviet doctors are proud that for the first time in the history of humankind, medicine is used to serve all the people and not just the rich. We are proud of the fact that one-third of all the doctors in the world are in our vast country. No country in the world expends more effort to protect the health of each child and adult. The work of the Congress is important because it will help stop the maniacs who are prepared to destroy all our efforts and millions of lives in one instant."

Even before the Congress began, delegates and Soviet citizens in general were discussing the aims of the congress. For example, Boris Grishin, an assembly line team leader at the Gorky Auto Plant told the press, "We working people want only one thing—that the skies are clear and nothing prevents us from doing our work."

One need only listen to the long stormy ovations each of the Brezhnev

peace initiatives received at the congress as evidence that they answered the deepest wishes of the Soviet people.

One delegate whom I asked about the direction of Soviet home and foreign policy, answered, "Is it not clear, as Comrade Brezhnev said, that life has proven us correct?"

But it was one delegate whose name I did not catch who captured best the spirit of the Congress: "The Soviet people repeat in over 100 languages, 'We want to rejoice at life being born, not weep for the dead. We want to welcome guests with bread and salt, not wield a sword to drive out invaders.' "

That thought seems to represent the deepest sentiment of the congress delegates, who comes from all spheres of Soviet life. Since it is also the clear direction of the party, it expresses the deep connection of the party with the most basic aspirations of the Soviet people. □

ROBERT DAGLISH

Congress Afterthoughts

Now that the snow has gone and everything is looking pretty bare I find myself gazing every morning out of the kitchen window at the treetops in our street and the yards and streets beyond. There must be hundreds of them poking up among the roofs, and all so black, so stark. But some mornings, when the bright March sun catches them on the slant, I think I can spot a glimmer of green and, if I stare long enough, it begins to look like a green haze of young buds and I just ache for it to be really there, though I know it can't be—not yet. It's only March and we've a long way to go to summer.

One doesn't often see instances of what the Russians call "non-management" at close quarters, but at the recent Party Congress it was frequently referred to. The Central Committee's report, delivered by Mr. Brezhnev, made no bones about the practice of "downward revision" of plans being "widespread" and too many people following the example of those who get themselves "listed as leading workers without actually fulfilling plans."

Last month a "skandal" occurred right beneath our windows. Two big trucks drew up one morning and the one with a crane on the back started unloading bricks from the other. Hod after hod was piled methodically on the edge of our driveway and the next day another truck arrived and simply shot its load straight onto the pavement on the other side until there was a small mountain to be negotiated by passers-by. Of course, the kids had a grand time. Fortresses were built at various strategic points all over the front gardens. The mountain became a volcano with a deep crater in the summit. I must say the mood was constructive rather than destructive and not a single brick was thrown, although by this time many had been chipped down to just the right size. As a center of attraction, at least for the youngsters, the stacks began to rival the volleyball court turned ice-rink on the other side of the block, where some real vigorous ice-hockey is played late into the night.

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But it didn't suit the grown-ups. "They've turned the place into a brickyard," an acquaintance complained to me one day. "And what for?" Apparently the bricks would be needed for laying a trolley cable, so one of the workmen told me. But as the weeks dragged on and more and more bricks got spread over the garden, a sense of outrage developed. Our large block houses all kinds of people, from bricklayers to generals, with a fair sprinkling of old-age pensioners (always the most vocal protest group in any Soviet community) and I guessed the lines to party and local soviet offices were getting pretty hot. Eventually three big trucks drove up and about six men instead of the previous three took all of four days to load the bricks back onto the trucks and clear up the rubble. It would be hard to say what exigency of non-management caused the brick-dumping operation but perhaps somebody's bonus was at stake.

Most people I talked to were glad the Congress hit a businesslike note from the start, though some said that the speeches of the delegates from the republics and regions were not critical enough. However, it is one thing what delegates will say in the glare of world publicity and quite another what they tell the Central Committee in private. In his speech the Georgian Party secretary Shevardnadze confined himself to a joke about some people in his republic regarding the process of democratization as a good thing as long as it didn't go too far and democratize them out of their jobs. But he is well known to have done great work in cleaning up the republic's administration at some risk to his own position.

Another aspect of the critical impact of the Congress is the big inflow of letters that it attracts. If you have a grievance at work or feel your place has been jumped in the housing or garage queue, a friend told me, the thing to do is to write to the Congress about it. He had heard that many requests had been granted this way. But what the party wants to hear about more than purely personal complaints is criticisms about various public abuses or malpractices and suggestions on how to put them right. Brezhnev reported to the Congress that the Central Committee receives 1,500 letters of this type a day.

In a socialist society, with zero unemployment, far more hinges on personal initiative than some people suspect. The righting of minor and sometimes major injustices depends greatly on whether the party or trade union secretary on the spot, the friends or colleagues of the person involved, press the case through existing channels. It is a travesty to regard party or trade union officials as barriers to such initiatives. Often the initiators themselves, they

are the first people one complains to when in difficulties.

The desire to hear constructive criticism is possibly reflected in some revealing studies that have appeared recently on stage and screen. It was perhaps significant that the first new television film to be released after the Congress was Alexander Khelman's *We, the Undersigned*. Skillfully directed by Tatyana Lioznova, this rich and acerbic comedy is about the problems that beset a state building inspection commission visiting a new housing development. Faced with complaints about the lack of fresh bread, the construction director on his own initiative has put a new bread factory into operation before it is properly finished and the commission has—naturally enough, it seems—refused to pass it. But the film begins and ends with the commission's train journey home, throughout which one of the construction chief's assistants, hero-worshipping Lonya, and his unwilling wife, try by hook or by crook to get the commission's decision reversed.

What follows reveals a tangle of motives and intrigues as gripping as any detective story. By starting off with the dishonest and rather absurd efforts of Lonya and his wife to attract the commission's attention (loss of ticket, faked birthday party for the wife, who rebels and gives the game away after the first toast) Khelman keeps us guessing about the true face of the commission. But as Lonya's story unwinds, all three of its members, whether gallantly jovial, prim or stiff-necked, realize that they themselves have become puppets in a much bigger departmental power struggle whose protagonists remain in the background. Staid honesty turns out to be a better option than alcoholic bonhomie, but primness hides only a hypocritical trimming to the wind, and when success seems almost certain, the two members of the commission whose agreement had looked most likely opt out on grounds of self-interest. And this is what the film is really about. So many people are in some way dependent on someone a little higher up or more powerful than themselves, and in a crisis they tend to look the other way. But conscience, even an ingenious one like Lonya's, can win a moral victory, although the only thing he gets out of it at the journey's end, after falling off the platform—into another unfinished construction site—is a kind of reconciliation with his wife.

Of all the people who laughed and perhaps even wept over this splendid film I should say its appeal was greatest to the rapidly expanding technical intelligentsia. They know how much this kind of departmental in-fighting is costing the country, and they are also much better informed nowadays about the state of the world.

One young engineer said to me recently, "It was MacNamara, wasn't it, who said the way to beat the Soviet Union is not by war but by a ruinous arms race. Well, they won't succeed, but it's causing us a lot of trouble."

It would be safe to say that the conciliatory approach on arms limitation and detente taken in the Central Committee's report to the 26th Congress was universally welcomed here. There just is no one with a vested interest in arms production and there are still a lot of people about who know only too well what war means. A major I sometimes pass the time of day with said, "I'd gladly hang up my uniform and become director of a state farm if the situation were different." And I think many generals would say the same. After all, it's only what a good many military men were able to do back in the fifties, when they went to the virgin lands and helped to make Kazakhstan and other areas beyond the Volga the flourishing grain producers they are today. They are the kind of organizers that are now needed in what is known as the non-black-earth region of European Russia.

The need for arms limitation and Soviet willingness to talk were emphasized again and again during the Congress by Central Committee members L.M. Zamyatkin and V.V. Zagladin in their daily press conferences. Some American correspondents were surprised how informally and freely these two spokesmen answered even the trickiest questions. Their confidence is no doubt based on the fact that despite the present tense situation the State Planning Committee is able to plan quite concretely to reach the following targets by 1985: a 22 per cent increase in electricity and a more than 40 per cent increase in gas production; a 25 per cent increase in food output, including a 34 per cent rise of production of meat and a 14 per cent rise in dairy products; a 27 per cent increase in knitwear, rising to two billion pieces in 1985; and at least a 40 per cent increase in recreational and household goods.

The atmosphere at the Congress was one of expectancy and change. Time will tell how effectively the confidence in economic growth expressed by the Central Committee press spokesmen will apply also in tackling the human and administrative problems of this complex and dynamic society. □



PART TWO:

The Proceedings

6

Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the XXVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy

*Delivered by L. I. BREZHNEV,
General Secretary of the
CPSU Central Committee*

February 23, 1981

This summary consists of excerpts from the report delivered by Leonid Brezhnev. The material is verbatim, drawn from all sections of the report, and contains the main points. However, much detail is omitted. We urge the reader to obtain the full text of the report, which is available in English.

The International Policy of the CPSU

Our struggle to strengthen peace and deepen detente is, above all, designed to secure the requisite external conditions for the Soviet people to carry out its constructive tasks. Thereby we are also solving a problem of a truly global nature. For at present nothing is more essential and more important for any nation than to preserve peace and ensure the paramount right of every human being—the right to life.

Development of the World Socialist System and the Cooperation of the Socialist Countries

Comrades, all these years the party, its Central Committee and Political Bureau have devoted unremitting attention to strengthening friendship and cooperation with the other socialist countries.

Hand in hand with them we are building a new, socialist world and a type of truly just, equal and fraternal relations between states never before seen in history.

This, indeed, is the spirit in which our relations are developing with the other countries of the socialist community—Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia.

A fundamental unity of views has taken root among us on all major aspects of social and economic development and of international affairs. This is a result of the continuous cooperation of our fraternal communist parties, and our common achievements.

Relations between states have been called international since the olden days. But it is only in our time, in the socialist world, that they have truly become relations between nations. Millions upon millions of people take an immediate part in them. That, comrades, is a fundamental gain of socialism and its great service to humanity.

The period under review has convincingly shown the highly influential and beneficial effect of the activity of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, notably its Political Consultative Committee, on European affairs and, for that matter, on world affairs as a whole. Having earlier paved the way to the European Conference, the highest political body of our Treaty has at its sittings in Bucharest, Moscow and Warsaw come forward with a number of new initiatives which attracted wide attention all over the world. Their main purpose is to defend detente, to give it an energetic rhythm or, as they say, its second wind.

During the years of building socialism the fraternal countries gained diverse

positive experience in organizing production and management, and in resolving economic problems.

For example, we know how skillfully the work of agricultural cooperatives and enterprises is organized in Hungary and what valuable experience the GDR has gained in rationalizing production and saving energy and raw and other materials. There are many interesting and valuable points in the social maintenance system of Czechoslovakia, while Bulgaria and some other European socialist countries have found useful forms of agro-industrial cooperation.

As we know, the decisive sector of the competition with capitalism is the economy and economic policy. At our past congress, we, like the other fraternal parties, set the task of further extending socialist integration on the basis of long-term special-purpose programs as a top priority. These programs are to help us resolve the most acute and vitally important economic problems.

At present, they are being translated into concrete deeds. Integration is gathering momentum. The fruits of specialization in production are visible in practically all branches of the economy, science, and technology. We now have some 120 multilateral and more than 1,000 bilateral agreements to this effect. Coordination of the economic plans of the CMEA [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] countries for 1981–1985 is nearing completion.

Speaking of the success of joint work, we can with legitimate pride list such large-scale projects as the nearly 3,000-kilometer-long Soyuz Gas Pipeline, the Mir Power Grid, to which new transmission lines have been added, the Ust-Ilimsk Pulp and Paper Plant, the Erdenet Ore-Dressing Works in Mongolia, the nickel plants in Cuba, and many other newly completed projects. And before us are still greater undertakings for the good of our whole community.

The past few years have not been among the most favorable for the national economies of some socialist states. Still, in the past ten years the economic growth rates of the CMEA countries have been twice those of the developed capitalist countries. The members of CMEA continued to be the most dynamically developing group of countries in the world.

The CPSU and the other fraternal parties are setting their course on making the coming two five-year periods a time of intensive cooperation among the socialist countries in production, science and technology.

Nowadays, the steady development of any socialist country and the successful solution by it of such problems, say, as energy and raw materials and utilization of the latest scientific and technical achievements, are inconceivable without ties with other fraternal countries.

The problems that arise in the process of our cooperation are being settled jointly, and we jointly seek the most correct ways of harmonizing the interests

of each fraternal country with the common interest. This applies, among other things, to fixing reduced prices on oil, gas, and other primary and manufactured goods supplied to each other by the countries of CMEA.

There are special cases, too, when friends need urgent aid. This was the case with Vietnam, which became the target of a barbarian aggression by Peking in 1979. The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community promptly sent it shipments of food, medical supplies, building materials, and arms. This was also the case with Kampuchea, which had been devastated by the Pol Pot clique of Peking henchmen.

That, comrades, is socialist internationalism in action. The Soviet people understand and approve of such action.

It should be noted, in general, that in recent years our countries have had to deal with their constructive tasks in more complicated conditions. The deterioration of the world economy and spiralling prices have played their part. The slowing of the process of détente and the arms race imposed by the imperialist powers are no small burden for us as well.

Another thing is the visible sharpening of the ideological struggle. For the West is not confined to the battle of ideas. It employs a whole system of means designed to subvert or soften up the socialist world.

The imperialists and their accomplices are systematically conducting hostile campaigns against the socialist countries. They malign and distort everything that goes on in them. For them the main thing is to turn people against socialism.

Recent events have shown again and again that our class opponents are learning from their defeats. Their actions against the socialist countries are increasingly refined and treacherous.

And whenever imperialist subversive activity is combined with mistakes and miscalculations in home policy, there arise conditions that stimulate elements hostile to socialism. This is what has happened in fraternal Poland, where opponents of socialism supported by outside forces are, by stirring up anarchy, seeking to channel events into a counterrevolutionary course. As was noted at the latest plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, the pillars of the socialist state in Poland are in jeopardy.

At present, the Polish comrades are engaged in redressing the critical situation. They are striving to enhance the Party's capacity for action and to tighten links with the working class and the other working people, and are preparing a concrete program to restore a sound Polish economy.

Last December's meeting of leaders of the Warsaw Treaty countries in Moscow rendered Poland important political support. It showed clearly that

the Polish Communists, the Polish working class and the working people of that country can firmly rely on their friends and allies; we will not abandon fraternal, socialist Poland in its hour of need, we will stand by it.

The events in Poland show once again how important it is for the party, for the strengthening of its leading role, to pay close heed to the voice of the masses, resolutely to combat all signs of bureaucracy and voluntarism, actively to develop socialist democracy, and to conduct a well-considered and realistic policy in foreign economic relations.

It was said at the past congress that a process of convergence of the socialist states was taking place. That process is continuing. But it does not obliterate the specific national features or the historical distinctions of the socialist countries. We should see the variety of forms in their social life and economic organization for what it really is—a wealth of ways and methods of establishing the socialist way of life.

Special mention must be made of China. The experience of the social and economic development of the People's Republic of China over the past 20 years is a painful lesson showing what any distortion of the principles and essence of socialism in home and foreign policy leads to.

The present Chinese leaders themselves describe what happened in the period of the so-called cultural revolution in their country as "a most cruel feudal-fascist dictatorship." We have nothing to add to this assessment.

At present, changes are under way in China's internal policy. Time will show what they actually mean. It will show to what extent the present Chinese leadership will manage to overcome the Maoist legacy. But, unfortunately, there are no grounds yet to speak of any changes for the better in Peking's foreign policy. As before, it is aimed at aggravating the international situation and is aligned with the policy of the imperialist powers. That, of course, will not bring China back to the sound road of development. Imperialists will never be friends of socialism.

The simple reason behind the readiness of the United States, Japan and a number of NATO countries to expand their military and political ties with China is to use its hostility to the Soviet Union and the socialist community in their own, imperialist interests. That is a hazardous game.

As far as the people of China are concerned, we are deeply convinced that their true interests would be best served by a policy of peace and nothing but a policy of peace and normal relations with other countries.

Development of Relations with the Newly-Free Countries

Among the important results of the party's international activity in the period under review we can list the visible expansion of cooperation with countries that have liberated themselves from colonial oppression.

These countries are very different. After liberation, some of them have been following the revolutionary-democratic path. In others capitalist relations have taken root. Some of them are following a truly independent policy, while others are today taking their lead from imperialist policy. In a nutshell, the picture is a fairly motley one.

Let me first deal with the socialist-oriented states, that is, states that have opted for socialist development. Their number has increased. Development along the progressive road is not, of course, the same from country to country, and proceeds in difficult conditions. But the main lines are *similar*. These include the gradual elimination of the positions of imperialist monopoly, of the local big bourgeoisie and the feudal elements and the restriction of foreign capital. They include the securing by the people's state of commanding heights in the economy and transition to planned development of the productive forces, and the encouragement of the cooperative movement in the countryside. They include enhancing the role of the working masses in social life, and gradually reinforcing the state apparatus with national personnel faithful to the people. They include anti-imperialist foreign policy. Revolutionary parties expressing the interests of the broad mass of the working people are growing stronger there.

We are developing wide-ranging mutually beneficial economic, scientific and technical cooperation with the newly-free countries. The building of large projects in these countries with some form of Soviet participation figures prominently in our relations with them.

Among the projects completed in recent years are many large ones, even crucial ones for the economy of the country concerned. These include the Al-Thawrah hydropower complex in Syria, which accounts for more than 70 per cent of the electricity generated in that country; the second stage of a steel mill in Algeria, which has raised its capacity to two million tons; and a plant in Guinea producing 2.5 million tons of bauxite a year.

Our country does everything it can to help many of the newly-free countries in training personnel—engineers, technicians, skilled workers, doctors, and teachers.

Tens of thousands of Soviet specialists are doing dedicated work on building sites in Asian and African countries, in industry and agriculture, and in hospitals and educational institutions. They are worthy representatives of their great socialist motherland. We are proud of them and send them heartfelt wishes of success.

Together with the other socialist countries, we are also helping to strengthen the defense capability of newly-free states if they request such aid. This was the case with, say, Angola and Ethiopia. Attempts were made to crush the people's revolutions in these countries by encouraging domestic counterrevolution or by outside aggression. We are against the export of

revolution, and we cannot agree to any export of counterrevolution either.

Imperialism launched a real undeclared war against the Afghan revolution. This also created a direct threat to the security of our southern frontier. In the circumstances, we were compelled to render the military aid asked for by that friendly country.

The plans of Afghanistan's enemies have collapsed. The well-considered policy of the People's Democratic Party and the government of Afghanistan headed by Babrak Karmal, which is faithful to the national interests, has strengthened the people's power.

As for the Soviet military contingent, we will be prepared to withdraw it with the agreement of the Afghan government. Before this is done, the infiltration of counterrevolutionary gangs into Afghanistan must be completely stopped. This must be secured in accords between Afghanistan and its neighbors. Dependable guarantees are required that there will be no new intervention. Such is the fundamental position of the Soviet Union, and we keep to it firmly.

In Africa, the Caribbean, and Oceania ten new states gained independence in the past five years and were instantly recognized by the Soviet Union. The birth of the Republic of Zimbabwe, the mounting intensity of the liberation struggle in Namibia, and now also in the Republic of South Africa are graphic evidence that the rule of "classic" colonialists and racists is approaching its end.

The imperialists are displeased with the fact that the newly-free countries are consolidating their independence. In a thousand ways, they are trying to bind these countries to themselves in order to deal more freely with their natural riches and to use their territory for their strategic designs. In so doing, they make extensive use of the old colonialist method of divide and rule.

Now about the Middle East problem. In its bid for dominance in the Middle East, the United States has taken the path of the Camp David policy, dividing the Arab world and organizing a separate deal between Israel and Egypt. US diplomacy has failed to turn this separate anti-Arab deal into a broader agreement of a capitulationist type. But it has succeeded in another way: A new deterioration of the situation has occurred in the region. A Middle East settlement was cast back.

What now? As we see it, it is high time to get matters off the ground. It is time to go back to an honest collective search for an all-embracing just and realistic settlement. In the circumstances, this could be done, say, in the framework of a specially convened international conference.

The Soviet Union is prepared to participate in such work in a constructive spirit and with good will. We are prepared to do so jointly with the other

interested parties—the Arabs (naturally including the Palestine Liberation Organization) and Israel. We are prepared for such a search jointly with the United States—and I may remind you that we had some experience in this regard some years ago. We are prepared to cooperate with the European countries and with all those who are showing a sincere striving to secure a just and durable peace in the Middle East. The UN, too, could evidently continue to play a useful role in all this.

As for the substance of the matter, we are still convinced that if there is to be real peace in the Middle East, the Israeli occupation of all Arab territories captured in 1967 must be ended. The inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine must be secured, up to and including the establishment of their own state. It is essential to ensure the security and sovereignty of all the states of the region, including those of Israel. Those are the basic principles. As for the details, they could naturally be considered at the negotiations.

The nonaligned movement, which will have its twentieth anniversary this year, has been and remains an important factor in international relations. Its strength stems from the stand it takes against imperialism and colonialism, and against war and aggression. We are convinced that the key to any further heightening of its role in world politics—and this we would welcome—is its dedication to these basic principles.

In the mid-seventies the former colonial countries raised the question of a new international economic order. Restructuring international economic relations on a democratic foundation, along lines of equality, is natural from the point of view of history. Much can and must be done in this respect. And, certainly, the issue must not be reduced, as this is sometimes done, simply to distinctions between the "rich North" and the "poor South." We are prepared to contribute, and are indeed contributing, to the establishment of equitable international economic relations.

Relations with the Capitalist States, Countering the Forces of Aggression. The Policy of Peace and Cooperation

In the period under review the USSR continued to pursue Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial cooperation with capitalist states, while firmly repulsing the aggressive designs of imperialism.

A further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism was witnessed during these years. To be sure, capitalism has not stopped developing. But it is immersed in what is already the third economic recession of the past ten years.

Inflation has grown to unheard-of dimensions. The social contradictions

have grown visibly more acute. In capitalist society use of the latest scientific and technical achievements in production turns against the working people and throws millions of factory workers into the streets. In the past ten years the army of unemployed in the developed capitalist states has doubled. In 1980 it totaled 19 million.

The difficulties experienced by capitalism also affect its policy, including foreign policy. The struggle over basic foreign policy issues in the capitalist countries has grown more bitter. Visibly more active of late are the opponents of detente, of limiting armaments, and of improving relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Adventurism and readiness to gamble with the vital interests of humanity for narrow and selfish ends—this is what has emerged in particularly barefaced form in the policy of the more aggressive imperialist circles. With utter contempt for the rights and aspirations of nations, they are trying to portray the liberation struggle of the masses as "terrorism." Indeed, they have set out to achieve the unachievable—to set up a barrier to the progressive changes in the world, and to again become the rulers of the peoples' destiny.

Military expenditures are rising unprecedentedly. In the United States they have climbed to an annual 150 billion dollars. But even these astronomical figures are not high enough for the US military-industrial complex. It is clamoring for more. The NATO allies of the United States, too, yielding to Washington's demands, have undertaken—though some with great reluctance—to increase military allocations automatically until almost the end of the present century.

A considerable portion of these tremendous sums is being spent on crash development of new types of strategic nuclear arms. Their appearance is accompanied by the advancing of military doctrines dangerous to peace, like the notorious Carter directive. They want people to believe that nuclear war can be limited, they want to reconcile them with the idea that such a war is tolerable.

But that is sheer deception of the peoples! A "limited" nuclear war as conceived by the Americans in, say, Europe would from the outset mean certain destruction of European civilization. And of course the United States, too, would not be able to escape the flames of war. Clearly, such plans and "doctrines" are a grave threat to all nations, including the people of the USA. They are being condemned all over the world. The peoples say an emphatic "No" to them.

Imperialist circles think in terms of domination and compulsion in relation to other states and peoples. The monopolies need the oil, uranium and nonferrous metals of other countries—and so the Middle East, Africa and the Indian Ocean are proclaimed spheres of US "vital interests." The US military machine is actively thrusting into these regions, and intends to entrench itself

there for a long time to come. Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, Oman, Kenya, Somalia, Egypt—where next?

To split the expenses with others and at the same time to tie its NATO partners closer to itself, the United States is seeking to extend the functions of NATO. Washington strategists are obviously eager to involve dozens of other countries in their military preparations and to enmesh the world in a web of US bases, airfields and arms depots.

To justify this, Washington is spreading the story of a "Soviet threat" to the oil riches of the Middle East or the oil supply lines. That is a deliberate falsehood, because its authors know perfectly well that the Soviet Union has no intention of impinging on either the one or the other. And in general, it is absurd to think that the oil interests of the West can be "defended" by turning that region into a powder keg.

No, we have completely different views on how peace can really be secured in and around the Persian Gulf. Instead of deploying more and more naval and air armadas, troops and arms there, we propose that the military threat should be removed by concluding an international agreement. A state of stability and calm can be created in that region by joint effort, with due account for the legitimate interests of all sides. The sovereign rights of the countries there and the security of maritime and other communications connecting the region with the rest of the world can be guaranteed. That is the meaning of the proposals made recently by the Soviet Union.

This initiative gained broad support in the world, including a number of Persian Gulf countries. To be sure, there were also opponents of the Soviet proposal, and it is easy to guess in what camp. We would like to express our hope that the governments of the United States and other NATO countries will consider the whole issue calmly and without prejudice, so that we could jointly look for a solution acceptable to all.

Reaching an agreement on this issue could, moreover, give a start to the very important process of reducing the military presence in various regions of the World Ocean.

In our relations with the United States during all these years we have, as before, followed a principled and constructive line. It is only to be regretted that the former administration in Washington put its stakes on something other than developing relations or on mutual understanding. Trying to exert pressure on us, it set to destroying the positive achievements that had been made with no small effort in Soviet-American relations over the preceding years. As a result, our bilateral ties suffered a setback in a number of fields. The entry into force of the SALT-II treaty was deferred. And negotiations with us on a number of arms limitation issues, such as reducing arms

deliveries to third countries, were broken off unilaterally by the United States.

Unfortunately, also since the change of leadership in the White House, openly bellicose calls and statements have resounded from Washington, as if specially designed to poison the atmosphere of relations between our countries. We would like to hope, however, that those who shape United States policy today will ultimately manage to see things in a more realistic light. The military and strategic equilibrium prevailing between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, objectively serves to safeguard world peace. We have not sought, and do not now seek, military superiority over the other side. That is not our policy. But neither will we permit the building up of any such superiority over us. Attempts of that kind and talking to us from positions of strength are absolutely futile.

Not to try and upset the existing balance and not to impose a new, still more costly and dangerous round of the arms race—that would be to display truly wise statesmanship. And for this it is really high time to throw the threadbare scarecrow of a "Soviet threat" out of the door of serious politics.

Let's look at the true state of affairs.

Whether we take strategic nuclear arms or medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, in both instances there is approximate parity between the sides. In respect of some weapons, the West has a certain advantage, and we have an advantage in respect of others. This parity could be more stable if pertinent treaties and agreements were concluded.

There is also talk about tanks. It is true that the Soviet Union has more of them. But the NATO countries, too, have a large number. Besides, they have considerably more antitank weapons.

The tale of Soviet superiority in troop strength does not match the facts either. Combined with the other NATO countries, the United States has even slightly more troops than the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries.

So, what talk can there be of any Soviet military superiority?

A war danger does exist for the United States, as it does for all the other countries of the world. But the source of the danger is not the Soviet Union, nor any mythical Soviet superiority. It is the arms race and the tension that still prevails in the world. We are prepared to combat this true and not imaginary danger hand in hand with the United States, with the countries of Europe, with all countries in the world. To try and outstrip each other in the arms race or to expect to win a nuclear war is dangerous madness.

It is universally recognized that in many ways the international situation depends on the policy of both the USSR and the USA. As we see it, the state of relations between them at present and the acuteness of the international problems requiring a solution necessitate a dialogue, and an active dialogue, at all levels. We are prepared to engage in this dialogue. Experience shows

that the crucial factor here is meetings at summit level. This was true yesterday and is still true today.

The USSR wants normal relations with the USA. There is simply no other sensible way from the point of view of the interests of our two nations and of humanity as a whole.

Comrades, for our party and the Soviet state the past five years have been years of purposeful struggle for European peace and security. Despite the efforts of enemies of detente, peaceful cooperation between countries of the two systems is, by and large, making good headway on the European continent. Political contacts have become broader and more meaningful. Frequently, we manage to find a common language on some major problems of foreign policy. Economic, scientific, technical and cultural ties are expanding and are taking on new qualities. Multilateral conferences have been held on various aspects of European cooperation.

Life requires fruitful cooperation of all countries for solving the peaceful, constructive problems facing every nation and all humanity. And this cooperation is no futile utopia. Its first signs—be they ever so small so far—are already in evidence in our time. They should be noted, cherished and developed.

Useful cooperation is now under way, also within the framework of international organizations, between a considerable number of states in such fields as peaceful uses of atomic energy, the battle against epidemic diseases, elimination of illiteracy, protection of historical and cultural treasures, and weather forecasting. And our country, too, is taking an active part in all this.

In short, there already exists a valid basis that has proved its worth for the further extension of practical peaceful cooperation among states. And the need for it is increasingly apparent. It is enough to mention such problems, for example, as discovery and use of new sources of energy, provision of food for the world's growing population, preservation of all the riches of nature on earth, and exploration of outer space and the depths of the world ocean.

To Strengthen Peace, Deepen Detente, and Curb the Arms Race

The central direction in the foreign policy of our party and government is, as it has always been, to lessen the danger of war and to curb the arms race. At the present time, this aim has become one of special importance and urgency because rapid and profound changes are under way in the development of military technology. Qualitatively new types of weapons, above all, weapons of mass destruction, are being developed. These are weapons of a type that may make control over them and therefore also their agreed limitation extremely difficult if not impossible. A new round of the arms race will upset

international stability and greatly increase the danger of another war.

The situation is made graver still by the fact that the policy of the aggressive imperialist forces has already considerably heightened international tensions with all the dangerous consequences that this entails.

There is probably no other country that has in recent years addressed itself to the world like the Soviet Union with so wide a spectrum of concrete and realistic initiatives on the most crucial problems of international relations.

Let me begin with the problem of limiting nuclear armaments, which are the most dangerous to humanity. All these years, the Soviet Union has worked perseveringly to put an end to the race in such armaments and to stop their further spread across the world. A tremendous amount of work was done, as you know, in preparing a treaty with the United States on limiting strategic arms. Much was done during the negotiations with the United States and Britain on the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests. We made an important move by declaring and reaffirming that we will not use nuclear weapons against nonnuclear countries which do not permit the deployment of such weapons on their territory. But we have also gone further in our proposals: that the manufacture of nuclear weapons be stopped and their stockpiles be reduced until they are completely eliminated.

The Soviet Union has also actively sought the prohibition of all other types of mass destruction weapons. And we have managed to achieve a few things in this field during the period under review. Already operative is a convention banning modification of the environment for military purposes. The basic provisions of a treaty prohibiting radiological weapons have been tentatively agreed upon. Negotiations on removing chemical weapons from the arsenals of states are under way, though at an intolerably slow pace. Action taken by the peace forces secured the suspension of plans for deploying neutron arms in Western Europe. All the greater is the outrage of nations over the new Pentagon attempts to hang the neutron sword of Damocles over the countries of Europe. For our part, we declare once more that we will not begin manufacturing it if it does not appear in other countries and that we are prepared to conclude an agreement banning the weapon once and for all.

The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries have come forward with a number of concrete proposals on military detente in Europe. In particular, we would like that the participants in the European Conference should undertake not to use either nuclear or conventional arms against each other first, that the existing military blocs in Europe and on other continents should not admit new members, and that no new blocs should be set up.

The Soviet Union and its allies have proposed convening a European conference to discuss and settle questions of military detente and disarmament in Europe. This matter is in the center of attention at the Madrid conference.

Neither have we slackened our efforts to secure progress at the Vienna

negotiations on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Here the socialist countries have gone more than halfway to meet their Western partners. But we've got to say bluntly that if the Western countries continue to drag out these talks while increasing their military potential in Europe, we will have to take this fact into account.

Many of the important initiatives that the Soviet Union and its allies advanced during the past five years were backed up by resolutions at the UN, including the General Assembly's special session on disarmament.

The Soviet proposals for consolidating international security and limiting the arms race remain in force. Soviet diplomats and all other officials in the foreign relations sector are continuing, under the guidance of the Party's Central Committee, to press for their implementation.

Our actions are consonant with the aspirations of other countries and peoples. Suffice it to recall that many countries on various continents have advanced proposals that won broad international support—to make Africa and the Middle East nonnuclear zones like Latin America, to set up peace zones in Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean, and the Mediterranean. And the resolutions of the European Conference are, in effect, aimed at making all Europe a zone of that kind as well.

Comrades, we are carrying on the fight for a radical improvement of the international situation. The trustworthy compass here is, as it has been, the Peace Program of the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Congresses of the CPSU.

Today the state of world affairs requires new, additional efforts to remove the threat of war and buttress international security. Permit me to put before the Congress a number of ideas directed to this end.

In recent years, as you know, flash points of military conflict, often threatening to grow into a major conflagration, flared up now in one and now in another region of the world. Experience has shown that it is not easy to extinguish them. It would be far better to take preventive measures, to forestall their emergence.

In Europe, for example, this purpose is to some extent served—and fairly well on the whole—by the confidence-building measures carried out in the military field by decision of the European Conference. They include advance notification of military exercises of ground troops, and invitation to them to observers from other countries. At present, these measures apply to the territory of the European states, including the Western regions of the USSR. We have already said that we are prepared to go further and to give notice of naval and air exercises. We have proposed—and propose again—that there should also be advance notification of large-scale troop movements.

And now we want to propose that the zone for these measures should be substantially extended. *We are prepared to apply them to the entire European*

part of the USSR, provided the Western states, too, extend the confidence zone accordingly.

The Soviet Union would be prepared to hold concrete negotiations on confidence building measures in the Far East with all interested countries.

We make these far-reaching proposals for confidence building in the belief that their implementation will facilitate progress in the field of disarmament.

Further. It is sometimes said about our Persian Gulf proposals that they should not be divorced from the question of the Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan. What could be said on this score? The Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate the Persian Gulf as an independent problem. It is also prepared, of course, as I have already said, to participate in a separate settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. *But also we do not object to the questions connected with Afghanistan being discussed together with the questions of Persian Gulf security.* Naturally, this applies only to the international aspects of the Afghan problem, and not to internal Afghan affairs. Afghanistan's sovereignty, like its nonaligned status, must be fully protected.

Once again, we insistently call for restraint in the field of strategic armaments. It should not be tolerated that the nations of the world live in the shadow of a nuclear war threat.

Limitation and reduction of strategic armaments is a paramount problem. *For our part, we are prepared to continue the relevant negotiations with the United States without delay, preserving all the positive elements that have so far been achieved in this area.* It goes without saying that the negotiations can be conducted only on the basis of equality and equal security. We will not consent to any agreement that gives a unilateral advantage to the USA. There must be no illusions on this score. In our opinion, all the other nuclear powers should join these negotiations at the appropriate time.

The USSR is prepared to negotiate limitation of weapons of all types. At one time we offered to ban the development of the naval Trident missile system in the United States and of a corresponding system in our country. The proposal was not accepted. As a result, the United States has built the new Ohio submarine armed with Trident-1 missiles, while an analogous system, the Typhoon, was built in our country. So, who has stood to gain?

We are prepared to come to terms on limiting the deployment of the new submarines—the Ohio type by the USA, and similar ones by the USSR. We could also agree to banning modernization of existing and the development of new ballistic missiles for these submarines.

Now about the nuclear-missile weapons in Europe. An ever more dangerous stockpiling of them is in train. A kind of vicious circle has arisen, with the actions of one side precipitating countermeasures by the other. How to break

this chain?

We suggest coming to terms that a moratorium should now be set on the deployment in Europe of new medium-range nuclear-missile weapons of the NATO countries and the Soviet Union, that is, to freeze the existing quantitative and qualitative level of these weapons, naturally including the US forward-based nuclear weapons in this region. The moratorium could enter into force at once, the moment negotiations begin on this score, and could operate until a permanent treaty is concluded on limiting or, still better, reducing such nuclear weapons in Europe. In making this proposal, we expect the two sides to stop all preparations for the deployment of respective additional weapons, including US Pershing-2 missiles and land-based strategic cruise missiles.

The peoples must know the truth about the destructive consequences for humankind of a nuclear war. *We suggest that a competent international committee should be set up which would demonstrate the vital necessity of preventing a nuclear catastrophe.* The committee could be composed of the most eminent scientists of different countries. The whole world should be informed of the conclusions they draw.

There are, of course, many other pressing international problems in the world today. Their sensible solution would enable us to slacken the intensity of the international situation and let the nations breathe with relief. But what is needed here is a farsighted approach, political will and courage, prestige and influence. That is why it seems to us that it would be useful to call a special session of the Security Council with the participation of the top leaders of its member-states in order to look for keys to improving the international situation and preventing war. If they so wish, leader of other states could evidently also take part in the session. Certainly, thorough preparations would be needed for such a session to achieve positive results.

In sum, comrades, the new measures we are proposing embrace a wide range of issues. They concern conventional as well as nuclear-missile armaments, land forces, and naval and air forces. They touch on the situation in Europe, in the Near East, the Middle East and the Far East. They deal with measures of a military as well as a political nature. All of them pursue a single aim, our one common aspiration—to do everything possible to relieve the peoples of the danger of a nuclear war, to preserve world peace.

This, if you like, is an organic continuation and development of our Peace Program in reference to the most burning, topical problems of present-day international life.

To safeguard peace—no task is more important now on the international plane for our party, for our people and, for that matter, for all the peoples of the world.

By safeguarding peace we are working not only for people who are living

today, and not only for our children and grandchildren; we are working for the happiness of dozens of future generations. If there is peace, the creative energy of the peoples backed by the achievements of science and technology is certain to solve the problems that are now troubling people. To be sure, new, still loftier tasks will then arise before our descendants. But that is the dialectic of progress, the dialectic of life.

Not war preparations that doom the peoples to a senseless squandering of their material and spiritual wealth, but consolidation of peace—that is the clue to the future.

The Economic Policy of the CPSU in the Period of Developed Socialism

Let me now turn to matters concerning the economic policy of the CPSU. Guiding the national economy constitutes the core of all party and government activity. For it is in the economic field that the foundation is being laid for accomplishing social tasks and strengthening the country's defense potential, the foundation for a vigorous foreign policy. It is here that the necessary prerequisites are being created for the successful advance of Soviet society to communism.

Basic Results of the USSR's Economic Development in the Seventies and in the Tenth Five-Year Plan Period

On the whole, the seventies may be summed up as a major step in developing the national economy of the country, of all the union and autonomous republics. What has been accomplished is the result of the dedicated work of tens of millions of people, of the vigorous activities of Party organizations, the Soviets of People's Deputies, the trade unions and the Young Communist League, and of the scale of the socialist emulation movement. Today, as we look back on the past years, we have every reason to say that a gigantic job has been accomplished. Our great country has become stronger, richer, and more beautiful!

While paying tribute to the Soviet people's truly historic achievements, the Central Committee of the CPSU at the same time clearly discerns the difficulties, the shortcomings, and the unsolved problems. Not all of the targets set were achieved. Not all of the ministries and enterprises fulfilled their plans. There are still bottlenecks and disproportions in the national economy.

The reasons for this vary. They include the operation of objective factors, of circumstances beyond our control. They also include shortcomings in planning and management. And they include, too, an insufficiently exacting attitude on the part of a number of party bodies and economic managers, breaches of discipline and instances of mismanagement. But probably the most important reason is the fact that the sluggishness, conventions and habits that arose in the period when the quantitative rather than the qualitative aspect of the work loomed the largest have still not been fully overcome.

All this was discussed in detail at the plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Specific decisions were taken to give a boost to the lagging branches and units of the economy. What is needed now is to use the experience gained for a still more determined drive to eliminate the obstacles impeding economic growth. There is only one way of achieving this; being more exacting, learning to work and run things more efficiently. Learning this does not come easily. But we Communists are persistent and purposeful people. We have taken this path and we shall not swerve from it.

The Economic Problems of the Eighties and of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan

Distinctive features of the eighties and the main objective of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan. The country has entered the new decade with a powerful economic and scientific-technological potential and with a multimillion army of well-trained and dedicated personnel. This determines our potentialities. At the same time requirements, and the scale of investments necessary both for the national economy to function normally and for the Soviet people's mounting needs to be satisfied, are also growing. And we will have to meet these production and consumer requirements in complex conditions.

A number of factors that tend to make economic development more complicated will, as you know, operate in the eighties. One of them is a decline in the growth of labor resources. Another is the growth of expenditures due to developing the East and the North, and also the inevitable increase in spending on environmental protection. To this it must be added that there are quite a few old enterprises in need of cardinal reconstruction. Then, too, roads, transport and communications are lagging behind the growing needs of the economy. Consequently, here, too, earnest efforts and big outlays are needed.

Built into the draft Guidelines is the continuity of the Party's economic strategy, and it likewise takes account of the specific conditions in which the country will be developing. It is from this viewpoint that the aims of economic growth and the principal ways of achieving them have been defined.

"The central objective of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan," it is said in the draft, *"is to ensure the further improvement of the Soviet people's well-being on the basis of the steady and constructive development of the national economy, accelerated scientific and technological progress, the transition of the economy to the road of intensive development, the more rational utilization of the country's production potential, the maximum saving of all types of resources, and an improvement in the quality of work."*

In accordance with the available estimates, the national income used for consumption and accumulation is to be increased by at least 40 per cent by 1990. Capital investments are to increase by just about as much. Under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan the national income is to increase by 18–20 per cent; industrial production, by 26–28 per cent; and agricultural production, by 12–14 per cent. The total capital investments under the five-year plan are estimated at 711–730 billion rubles.

To make fuller and more efficient use of the production potential. Truly enormous resources have been involved in the national economy. It has been noted repeatedly that the Soviet Union has advanced to first place in the world in the output of many important products, which include oil and steel, cement and chemical fertilizers, wheat and cotton, mainline electric and diesel locomotives. We have the largest inventory of machine tools in the world. We have a greater number of engineers than other countries have. All this, comrades, is cause for pride.

But along with pride there must always be a deep sense of responsibility. Responsibility for having this vast potential, built up by the Soviet people, utilized in the most rational way, with maximum results.

Compared with the best indicators in the world, we use more raw materials and energy per unit of the national income. This being so, the end product from the already available resources can be boosted considerably.

I have already spoken of what can be achieved by a more rational and thrifty use of metal. This fully applies to practically all types of resources—whether they be ores, timber, or building materials. Or take oil. There are enormous possibilities in increasing its extraction rate from oil fields. Very much can be achieved by improving engines and switching road transport to diesel and gaseous fuel.

A new approach is evidently needed in the extracting industries in general. They already absorb the lion's share of capital investments, yet the demand for raw materials and energy agents will increase. Consequently, the successes of the national economy as a whole will depend in a large measure on making the extracting industries more efficient. The road to this runs through accelerating scientific and technological progress, through the com-

prehensive, thoroughgoing processing of mineral resources, and through the broader reutilization of resources.

These tasks are topical because they concern nonrenewable resources. We are responsible for their proper and thrifty utilization not only to the present, but also to future generations. And no one has the right to forget this.

Big potentialities are inherent in making better use of production plant—machinery, equipment and transport facilities. Our efforts should be concentrated on reducing idle time, raising the shift index, and developing energy- and material-saving technological processes.

A thrifty, economical attitude to labor resources is particularly important in the conditions of the eighties. This is a complicated matter, which calls for solving many problems of an economic, technical, social and educational character.

A concern for saving, for the fuller and more rational utilization of what the country possesses, requires a new approach to many aspects of economic activity. Specifically, this requires perfecting and reinforcing the "top tiers" of corresponding industries: what is known as the fourth process stage in steelmaking, finishing work in construction, and the final operations in light industry. They largely determine the quality—and at times, the quantity—of products.

It was emphasized at several plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the CPSU that our further forward movement will increasingly depend on the skillful and efficient utilization of all the available resources—labor, fixed assets, fuel and raw materials, and the produce from the fields and livestock farms.

It is within our powers now, comrades, to cope with the biggest and most complex of undertakings. But economic policy is coming to hinge on a matter that would seem simple and quite routine—a thrifty attitude toward social property and an ability to make full and expedient use of everything we have. It is on this that the initiative of work collectives and the party's mass activities should be concentrated. It is on this that technological policy, investment policy and the system of planning and accounting indicators should be concentrated.

The Central Committee of the party calls on the Congress delegates to approve this conclusion as a most important principle in the economic strategy of the CPSU for the coming period.

An economy must be economical—that is dictated by the times.

To bring all branches of the national economy to the foremost frontiers of science and technology. The Central Committee of the CPSU urges that the role and responsibility of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR be further

enhanced and that the organization of the entire research system be improved. The system must be much more flexible and mobile, intolerant of any inefficient laboratories and institutes. More consideration should be given, also, to the needs of research, to providing scientific institutions with equipment and instruments, and to expanding pilot-plant production.

The country is badly in need of having "big science"—in addition to working on fundamental problems—concentrate its efforts in a larger measure on solving key economic problems and on discoveries that could bring about truly revolutionary changes in production.

Clearly formulating the practical problems requiring the maximum attention of scientists is, above all, the job of the central planning and economic bodies and of the State Committee for Science and Technology. At the same time science itself should be a constant "troublemaker," pointing to the areas where there are signs of stagnation and backwardness, where the present level of knowledge could secure faster and more successful advancement. Thought should be given to ways of turning this work into an integral part of the management mechanism.

But not infrequently one still encounters intolerable delays in introducing promising innovations into production, regardless of whether they concern continuous steel casting or powder metallurgy, unique direct-current transmission lines or the production of highly durable artificial fibers. It is essential to get to the bottom of the reasons why we at times forfeit our priority and spend a great deal of money for the purchase abroad of machines and technologies that we can well produce ourselves, and often of a higher quality at that.

The main trends in improving the people's well-being. Comrades, the party is putting forward a sweeping program of further improving the people's well-being in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period and the eighties in general. This program calls for improving all aspects of the Soviet people's life—consumption and housing, cultural and recreational facilities, working and living conditions.

Prime significance in the party's efforts to raise the standard of living should be attached to *expanding the production and improving the quality of consumer goods, and extending public services*.

We have achieved successes in this, and they are substantial. But at a party congress it is important to concentrate on something else. For it is a fact that year after year plans for the production of many consumer goods remain unfulfilled, especially in textiles, knitwear, leather footwear, furniture, and television sets. Nor are there proper improvements in quality, finish or variety. In all these matters things must be put right without delay.

It is necessary to provide for equipping light industry with modern plant, for improving supplies of raw and other materials to it, and for perfecting the industry's planning and management. The working and living conditions of light industry personnel have to be improved. Trade must have a bigger say in determining the variety and quality of goods. It is also necessary to improve the technical equipment of the municipal and household services, to distribute them throughout the country more evenly, and to train skilled personnel for them.

And, finally, local initiative is tremendously important. In no other sphere of the national economy do local potentialities and local reserves appear to play as large a role as in satisfying everyday consumer demand and in providing the population with services. It is necessary for the Soviets of People's Deputies at all levels to take specific steps to improve the production and sale of manufactured goods and to extend public services.

As you know, comrades, the draft Guidelines for the next five-year plan envisage a certain acceleration of group "B" (consumer goods) production—its growth rate will somewhat exceed that of group "A" (means of production). That is a good thing. What is needed is to create truly modern production of consumer goods and services, meeting the people's needs.

To conclude this topic, I would like to step beyond the boundaries of economic problems as such and to put the matter in a broader perspective. What we are discussing—food products, other consumer goods and services—are part of the everyday life of millions upon millions of people. People go to shops, canteens, laundries and cleaners every day. What can they buy? How are they welcomed? How are they spoken to? How much time do they spend on all sorts of household chores? It is on the strength of how these problems are solved that people largely judge our work. They judge it strictly, exactingly. And this should be remembered.

Concrete concern for the concrete person, for his needs and requirements is the alpha and omega of the party's economic policy. I am reminding you of this to re-emphasize a simple but very important point; the production of goods for the population and the expansion of consumer services are a prime party concern. And that is how they should be treated.

To perfect the methods of guiding the economy. Comrades, solving the problems facing us and utilizing the potentialities at our disposal depend to a large extent on the standards of guidance of the national economy, the standards of planning and management. This is probably keenly appreciated by every economic manager and every party functionary.

The importance of discipline, the importance of personal responsibility have increased many times over in present-day conditions. This is especially

true of the responsibility of the leading economic, government and party personnel. The interests of the state as a whole must always come before the interests of individual ministries and enterprises. Powers—and big powers at that—are vested in leaders so that they could make full use of them. But, in so doing, every leader must always remember his lofty responsibility as well—his responsibility to the men and women he has been entrusted with leading, his responsibility to the party and the people.

The first point I want to speak about is responsibility for state plan fulfillment. The party has always regarded the plan as law. And not just because it is approved by the Supreme Soviet. The plan is law because only its observance assures the harmonious functioning of the national economy. Let us speak frankly: This axiomatic truth has begun to be forgotten. The practice of downward plan revision has become widespread. Such a practice disorganizes the economy, demoralizes personnel and accustoms them to irresponsibility.

I am least of all inclined to adopt a formal posture. There may be, and does occur, the odd occasion when plan amendment is necessary. But this has to be precisely an odd occasion, an exception. When, however, exceptions crop up more and more often, this gives rise to understandable concern. Is it not too often that we follow the lead of those who would like to make their lives easier—be listed as leading workers and receive bonuses without actually fulfilling plans?

The time has, evidently, come to tighten requirements both as to plan fulfillment and the quality of the plans themselves. A plan must, unquestionably, be realistic and balanced. But it must just as unquestionably be fulfilled.

Another pressing task is to overcome the lack of coordination in the activities of various departments. At the Twenty-fifth Congress of the CPSU we spoke of the need to set up a system for the management of groups of kindred and interrelated industries. With this purpose in view, interindustry mixed units have been set up at the State Planning Committee of the USSR. A Commission of the Council of Ministers of the USSR on the Development of the Western Siberian Oil and Gas Complex, and also a Tyumen-based interdepartmental territorial commission under the State Planning Committee of the USSR were formed recently. These are steps in the right direction. They help to manage territorial-industrial complexes better and to assess and harmonize regional and sectoral interests better. Such work should be continued.

I would like to speak specifically of management at the amalgamation and enterprise level. Different variants and different schemes have, as you know, been tried out. A great deal of diversified experience has been accumulated. This experience makes it clear that the quest has to be continued. The over-all trend of this quest, it seems, is toward greater independence of the amalgama-

tions and enterprises and greater powers and responsibility of economic managers.

It should be said in general that improving the organization of management structures is a matter that does not tolerate routine. The living, developing organism of economic management cannot be adapted to established, customary forms. On the contrary, the forms have to be made to fit the changing economic tasks. That is the only way the matter should be approached.

What is meant here is the evolution of a style of work that would organically combine efficiency and discipline with bold initiative and enterprise; a practical and businesslike grasp, with a dedication to lofty goals; a critical attitude toward shortcomings, with implicit faith in the historical advantages of the path we have chosen.

Comrades, the problems of economic management are not just economic, but political, party problems. It has long been known that party slogans and programs materialize in mass activities. "The more profound the change we wish to bring about," Lenin said, "the more must we rouse an interest and an intelligent attitude toward it, and convince more millions and tens of millions of people that it is necessary" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 498). The economic policy the party is proposing for the Eleventh Five-Year Plan and the eighties reflects the Soviet people's fundamental, vital interests. On combining and merging with the creative initiative and energy of the masses, it assures the steady progress of our society on the road of raising the standard of living, and building the material and technical basis of communism!

Soviet Society's Sociopolitical and Cultural Development and the Tasks of the Party

Development of the Socio-class Structure and of the Relations Among the Peoples of the USSR

The coming closer together of all the classes and social groups of Soviet society continued in the 1970s. This is an objective but by no means a spontaneous process. In it a significant role is played by the social policy pursued by the Party and the government. Our aim is to create a society in which people will not be divided into classes. And it may be said quite definitely that we are gradually and surely advancing toward that great objective.

What gives us grounds for this conclusion?

The working class plays an ever larger role in the life of society. Today nearly 80 million people, or two-thirds of the employed population, are workers. This means that in our country the working class is not only the largest class numerically but constitutes the majority of the working people. The proportion of workers is steadily growing in party, trade union, and YCL committees and in higher and local government bodies.

Unquestionably, the consolidation of the leading role played by the working class is linked to the rise of its ideological, political, educational, and professional level. Ten years ago only a little more than half of the workers had a secondary (complete or incomplete) or higher education. Today three-fourths have such an education. The very character of the labor of the modern worker is changing—it is increasingly acquiring an intellectual content.

With the industrialization of agriculture far-reaching changes are taking place in the life of the *collective-farm peasantry*. Step by step their labor is drawing closer to that of factory workers. The number of machine operators and other workers servicing advanced technology is growing in the countryside. It is not surprising, therefore, that the proportion of collective farmers with a secondary (complete or incomplete) or higher education has grown from 39 to 60 per cent within 10 years.

The countryside's social structure is greatly influenced by the drawing together of the two forms of socialist property and by the development of mixed economic organizations involving collective farms and state enterprises. The changes in the forms of organizing and paying for the labor of collective farmers and the fact that they now enjoy the same social insurance as factory and office workers are of no little importance. All this leads to what Lenin termed the erasure of the distinctions in the social status of the worker and the peasant.

Of course, we still have many backward farms and many villages that have to be reconstructed, modernized, and provided with new services. Without this we shall not have stable work collectives or make effective use of the countryside's present production potential for the successful fulfillment of the food program. In short, much effort, time, and resources are still needed in order to improve the cultural amenities in rural communities and surmount the essential distinctions between town and countryside.

But today it is already a pleasure to visit many collective and state farms. It is a pleasure to go into the spacious, bright houses, where town amenities are adapted to the specifics and needs of rural life. The new character of labor and the modern life and appearance of such villages are precisely, comrades, the beneficial fruits of our social policy.

In the period under review our *intelligentsia* grew the quickest numerically. Today one out of every four working persons in our country is linked basically

with intellectual work. The intelligentsia is playing an even bigger role not only in science, education and culture, but also in material production, in the life of society as a whole.

In turn, labor by hand and labor by brain are fusing ever more closely in the production activity of millions of workers and collective farmers. Many of them are innovators and inventors, authors of articles and books, statesmen and public figures. They are highly cultured intellectuals in the true sense of the word.

In evaluating the experience of our society's development over the past few decades, I think we can assume that a classless society will take shape mainly within the historical framework of mature socialism.

The modern working class has been and remains the motive force of this process, its "social intellect and social heart," to quote Marx. Its revolutionary ideology and ethics, its collectivist psychology, and its interests and ideals are now being adopted by all strata of Soviet society.

Naturally, the erasure of the distinctions between classes sets social policy new tasks. That policy is concentrating more and more on surmounting distinctions that range beyond individual classes, on problems requiring the closest attention to the features and interests of each group of our society.

In this context I should like to underscore the need to *even out social distinctions on, so to speak, the territorial plane*. The cultural amenities and everyday life of people differ in the various regions of our huge country. These are the distinctions that, more often than not, complicate the manpower problem in a number of places. Implementation of the programs for the development of Western Siberia, the zone of the Baikal-Amur Mainline railroad, and other areas in the Asiatic part of the country has stepped up the flow of people to these places. Nonetheless, to this day many people prefer to move from north to south and from east to west, although the rational location of the productive forces requires movement in the opposite directions.

It is sometimes argued that higher wage and salary increments in Siberia, the Soviet Far East, and the northern regions should stop people from moving out of these regions. Increments must be made, of course. But alone this will not solve the problem. More often than not a person leaves Siberia not because the climate is not suitable or the pay is small, but because there it is harder to get housing and to put a child in a kindergarten, and cultural centers are few and far between. That is why in the next five years we plan a faster rate in building housing and the entire socio-cultural complex in these areas and a larger supply of goods for which there is a mass demand. You will agree that the situation there must be changed and that this must be done as quickly as possible.

In Central Asia and some parts of the Caucasus there is, on the contrary, a surplus of manpower, particularly in the countryside. This means that more

inducements must be given to attract people living in these places to move to the territories now being developed. And it goes without saying that here the industries needed by the national economy must be enlarged and more facilities opened to train skilled workers of the indigenous nationality, chiefly from among rural youth.

Acting on the instructions of the 25th Congress, the Central Committee gave serious attention to charting and implementing an effective *demographic policy*, to population problems that have lately grown acute. The principal way to resolve these problems is to show more concern for the family, for newlyweds and, chiefly, for women. Everyone will appreciate that in many cases it is not easy to combine the duties of a mother with work in production and active participation in public life.

In the period of the 10th Five-Year Plan steps were taken to improve working conditions for women, the facilities for family leisure, and everyday and cultural services. However, it must be said bluntly that so far there has been no perceptible change. What is needed are wider and more effective measures. These, as you all know, are charted in the Guidelines. I am speaking of the introduction of partially paid leave of up to one year to look after a baby, a shorter working day for mothers of small children, an extension and improvement of the network of children's preschool institutions, schools with extended-day groups, and all the everyday services. It is planned to increase the allowances for children, especially for the second and third child.

Comrades, the fraternal friendship among all the peoples of our multinational country is growing steadily stronger. It is our policy to increase the material and cultural potential of each republic and, at the same time, make the maximum use of this potential for the balanced development of the country as a whole. On this path our achievements have been truly historic.

Ever since Soviet power was established, our economic and social policy has been framed in such a way as to bring the non-Russian regions of Russia up to the development level of the central regions as quickly as possible. This task has been successfully accomplished. Here a key role was played by close cooperation among all the nations of the country and, chiefly, by the disinterested assistance of the Russian people. Comrades, there are no backward ethnic outskirts today.

The Soviet nations are now united more than ever. Naturally, this does not imply that all the problems of the relations between nationalities have been resolved. The dynamics of the development of a large multinational state like ours gives rise to many problems requiring the party's tactful attention.

The population of the Soviet republics is multinational. All nations, of course, have the right to be adequately represented in their party and

Government organs. Needless to say, the competence and ideological and moral makeup of each candidate must be carefully scrutinized.

In recent years there has been a considerable growth in some republics of the number of citizens of nonindigenous nationalities. These have their own specific needs in terms of language, culture and everyday life. The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the republics and the territorial and regional committees should go deeper into these matters and opportunely suggest ways of meeting these needs.

The national sensibilities and national dignity of every person are respected in our country. The CPSU has fought and will always take a determined stand against such attitudes alien to the nature of socialism as chauvinism or nationalism, against any nationalistic aberration, whether it is, say, anti-Semitism or Zionism. We are against tendencies aimed at an artificial obliteration of national identities. And, to a similar extent, we consider their artificial inflation inadmissible. It is the Party's sacrosanct duty to educate the people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, to foster a sense of pride in belonging to the great integral Soviet Union.

Strengthening the Material and Intellectual Foundations of the Socialist Way of Life and the Molding of the New Man

Comrades, the restructuring of all social relations along the collectivist lines implicit in the new system is consummated in the period of developed socialism. This restructuring encompasses the material and intellectual spheres, the entire way of our life.

Soviet society is a society of *working* people. Now, as before, the party and the government are doing much to make the work of people not only more productive but also more meaningful, interesting, and creative. To a great extent this will be fostered by the eradication of manual, unskilled and arduous physical labor. Millions of people in our country are still engaged in such labor. This is not only an economic but a serious social problem. To resolve it means to remove the substantial barriers to the conversion of labor into the prime vital need of every person.

Socialist emulation spells out innovation by the people. Underlying it are the people's high level of consciousness and initiative. It is this initiative that helps to reveal and tap the potentialities of production and enhance efficiency and quality. But in practice—there's no hiding it—socialist commitments are sometimes not worked out from below but handed down from above, from higher bodies. This is prejudicial to the very spirit of labor emulation. In it the emphasis should be on upwardly revised plans and other similar initiatives going from below to the top: worker-team-factory-industry. Only then should

these initiatives be dovetailed with the state plan. This accords with the nature of socialist emulation and with the planned character of our economy.

Everybody appreciates that people work better and with more pleasure where they sense constant efforts to improve the conditions of their work and life. The factory or the farm is a home where a person spends at least one-third of his life. There everything should be convenient and modern—from the workplace to lockers and canteens.

Regrettably, we still have economic executives who feel that these are minor matters. This attitude is fundamentally wrong and harmful.

We have no unemployment. The right to work is recorded in our Constitution and ensured in real terms. However, on the recommendation of many people the Constitution also records that shirking socially useful work is incompatible with the principles of socialism. This implies that all organizational, fiscal, and juridical levers should be used to close once and for all every opening for parasitism, bribery, profiteering, unearned incomes, and infringements upon socialist property.

I can speak of a major achievement—the transition to compulsory universal secondary education has been consummated. Today the main thing is to improve the quality of instruction and of work-oriented and moral upbringing in schools, to do away with formalism in assessing the results of the work of teachers and pupils, strengthen the link of education with life in practical terms, and prepare schoolchildren better for socially useful work. We should not stint concern for his work and everyday life and for improving his qualifications. But then more demands are being made of his work.

In 1977 the CPSU Central Committee and the government adopted a detailed decision on measures aimed at further improving the public health system. Its implementation is yielding results. Today, in the course of a single shift, our polyclinics can serve half a million more people than five years ago. Specialized medical care and the cardiological service have been considerably enlarged. Disease-prevention has grown more effective.

However, there are still many shortcomings. The work of polyclinics, prophylactic centers, and outpatient clinics, which serve 80 per cent of all sick people, should be substantially improved. Regrettably, in some places they have lagged behind the potentialities of medicine, there is a shortage of personnel, especially middle and junior, the equipment is obsolete, and modern medicines are in short supply. Plans for the construction of hospitals and health-building centers fall behind schedule.

We highly value the honest and selfless work of our doctors, nurses, and other medical personnel. This makes our disappointment all the greater when letters come in about instances of medical personnel abusing their duties, of lack of consideration for people. The Ministry of Public Health, party committees, the YCL and the trade unions are obliged to take an implacable

stand against such instances and extirpate them completely. Everything must be done to enable Soviet people to receive timely, skilled, and considerate medical care always and everywhere.

Comrades, the fact that the cultural life of Soviet society is becoming more diversified and richer is an unquestionable achievement of our cultural workers, of our *literature and art*.

It is the business of literary and art critics to state their professional judgments. But it seems to me that all readers, theater and TV audiences, and radio fans feel that a new tide is rising in Soviet art. Many talented works have been produced in recent years—in all our republics. This concerns literature, the theater, cinematography, music, painting and sculpture.

Creative workers have been unquestionably successful in producing vivid images of our contemporaries. These move people, prompt debates and make people think of the present and the future.

The heroes of these works are people from different walks of life: a building team leader, a collective-farm chairman, a railroad worker, an army officer, a pilot, or an eminent scientist. But in each of them the reader or the viewer sees his own thoughts and feelings and the embodiment of the finest qualities of the Soviet character.

Soviet art could not fail to respond to the growing attention that our society is giving to questions of ethics. The relations among people at work and in everyday life, the complex inner world of the individual, and the latter's place on our restless planet are an inexhaustible field for artistic quests. Here it is important, of course, that the topicality of themes should not be used as a cover for drabness and mediocrity in art. The heroes of works of art should not withdraw into trivial affairs but live with the concerns of their country at heart, a life filled with endeavor and a persevering struggle for the triumph of justice and kindness.

On the contrary, ideological poverty, philosophical indiscrimination, and a departure from a clear-cut class assessment of individual historical events and personalities may harm the creative work of even talented people. Our critics, literary journals, unions of workers in the arts and, above all, their party organizations should be able to correct those who are carried away in one direction or another. And, it goes without saying, they should take an active, principled stand in cases when works appear that discredit our Soviet reality. On this point we should be firm. The party was not and can never be indifferent to the ideological orientation of our art.

The Soviet citizen is a conscientious worker, a person with a high level of political culture, a patriot and an internationalist. He has been brought up by the party, by the country's heroic history, by our entire system. He lives the

full-blooded life of a builder of a new world.

Naturally, this does not mean we have resolved all the problems of *molding the new man*. Here we are faced with quite a few problems. Upbringing is successful only when it rests on the solid foundation of socioeconomic policy.

We have large material and intellectual potentialities for the ever fuller development of the individual, and we shall continue to increase these potentialities. However, it is important that each person should be able to utilize them intelligently. In the long run this depends on the interests and needs of the individual. For that reason our party sees the active, meaningful shaping of these interests and needs as a major aim of its social policy.

Most Soviet people work honestly, with heart and soul. By right they enjoy—and do so reasonably—the many benefits that society gives them and look after and multiply our national wealth. But there are people who seek to give less to the state and take as much as they can from it. This is the sort of mentality that gives rise to egoism and philistinism, to avarice, and to indifference to the concerns and affairs of the people. Drinking inflicts considerable damage on society and painfully hurts the family, and, speaking frankly, it is still a serious problem. All work collectives, all public organizations, and all Communists should do everything to combat this ugly phenomenon.

As you can see, comrades, much remains to be done to perfect the socialist way of life, to extirpate all that hinders the molding of the new man. This is an inalienable part of the social policy of the party, whose aim is to promote the well-being and happiness of Soviet people.

The Constitution of the USSR and the Further Development of the Soviet Political System

Comrades, the most significant changes in the economic, public, and intellectual life of Soviet society and the profoundly democratic character of the state of the whole people are telescoped in the new Constitution of the USSR. We all remember the tremendous upsurge of the people's creative effort and civic activity generated in the course of the discussion of the draft Fundamental Law.

An immensely useful effect is produced by the present renewal of Soviet legislation on the basis of the Constitution. New laws are making it possible to regulate various aspects of social relations with greater nicety and accuracy. The work of perfecting legislation will continue. Here there are three priority areas: management of the national economy, the exercise by citizens and public organizations of their constitutional rights, and completion of the publication of the Code of Laws of the USSR.

We have almost a million Communist deputies. They should use their prestige and experience to turn every session of the Soviet and every sitting of its standing commissions into a council of the people in the true sense of the word, into a collective quest for the most correct solutions.

The essence of Soviet democracy, of democracy in action lies in concern for the common work, for the development of production, in comparing notes, in frank and principled criticism and self-criticism, and in promoting the sociopolitical activity of every citizen.

All-embracing *People's Control* of the work of administrative bodies and officials is an essential component of Soviet democracy. Not a single violation, not a single case of abuse, wastage, or lack of discipline should be overlooked by the People's Control inspectors.

The Constitution of the USSR has greatly enhanced the role of public organizations in the development of our democracy. The largest of these are the *trade unions*. Now that they have enrolled the millions of collective farmers, the trade unions embrace practically all the working people. They have exceedingly broad tasks and rights. They protect the interests of working people, take part in resolving economic, social, and cultural problems, and do much to foster socialist emulation, invention and innovation.

Still, I think I'll be making no mistake if I say that our trade unions sometimes lack initiative in exercising their broad rights. They do not always act with perseverance in questions concerning the fulfillment of collective agreements and the rules on labor safety, and still poorly react to cases of violations of labor legislation, to bureaucratic practices and red tape.

This means that the trade unions and work collectives should tighten their control of decision-making concerning all questions of the work and life of people and take a larger part in planning and managing production, selecting and placing personnel, and effectively utilizing the funds at the disposal of enterprises and organizations.

There are more than 40 million young men and women in the *Leninist Young Communist League*. We often say that the YCL is our replacement and the assistant of the party. This is correct, absolutely correct. Young people who are between the ages of 18 and 25 today will tomorrow form the backbone of our society. The most important, the central task of the YCL is to help form the rising generation into politically active, knowledgeable people, who like and know how to work and are always prepared to defend their country.

On the whole, the YCL is coping with this task. It has to its credit hundreds of projects in the most diverse parts of the country. It is taking a larger share in the administration of the state, of all public life. That is the course that should be maintained.

But it is not in our tradition to confine ourselves to praise. It is no secret that

some educated and well-informed young people are at the same time politically naïve, and their professional training goes along with an insufficiently responsible attitude toward work. Much of this is a result of omissions by the YCL.

Consequently, more emphasis should be placed on educational work. I have in mind labor training, moral upbringing, and ideological and political education. This by no means implies that there should be more "activities" of all sorts. There should be a live, creative atmosphere in every YCL organization. Everybody knows that a truth is assimilated properly when it is experienced and not merely taught. The YCL should organize the study of Marxist-Leninist theory in such a way as to fuse it organically with the practical affairs, with the life of its members. This wealth must be passed on to young people. In this lies the sure guarantee that Soviet young people will always hold high the banner of communism.

The Party—Vanguard of the Soviet People

The Communist Party grows, gathers strength and matures parallel with our society's development, with the changes in its sociopolitical and cultural makeup.

In the period under review the membership of the CPSU grew by 1,800,000. Today it has 17,480,000 members. Of these, 43.4 per cent are factory workers, 12.8 per cent are collective farmers and 43.8 per cent are members of the technical, scientific and creative intelligentsia, workers in education, medicine and culture, people working in the administrative apparatus, and members of the Armed Forces.

During the past five years the CPSU has been joined by more than 1,500,000 of the finest members of the working class: This comprises 59 per cent of the newly admitted members. Of the new members over 10 per cent are collective farmers. The influx of members of the Soviet intelligentsia continued. Almost three out of four of those who joined the CPSU during these years were members of the Leninist YCL.

The number of people wishing to join the party is growing. The approach to admitting new members has become more exacting. Better use is made of the probation period to test the political, professional and moral qualities of aspiring members. Not all pass this test. In the past five years 91,000 probationers were not admitted to full membership. This is a more or less normal sifting out.

As I have already said, the finest, most advanced people join the party. However, misfits and unworthy people sometimes get into the CPSU. Let me give you one figure. Since the Twenty-fifth Congress nearly 300,000 people

have been expelled from the party for deeds incompatible with the name of Communist.

It must be stated categorically that our attitude to people who comport themselves unworthily and violate the Party Rules and the norms of party ethics was, is, and will be irreconcilable. Nobody can expect indulgence where it is a matter of the honor and prestige of our party, of the purity of its ranks.

This strict approach is what ensures the monolithic unity of the CPSU, its ability to head Soviet society, and confidently lead the Soviet people along the road to communism.

Improvement of the Methods of Party Leadership

Primary party organizations play a role of paramount importance in fulfilling big and varied tasks of communist construction.

Today the CPSU has 414,000 primary and 457,000 shop organizations, and more than 618,000 groups. Primary party organizations are vested with the right to control the work of managements. It is important that they exercise this right to a larger extent and in the best way possible.

In many cases departmental or bureaucratic barriers are still an impediment to the fulfillment of economic, and not only economic, tasks. Who, if not the party committees of ministries and departments, should be in the forefront in breaking down these barriers? They should guard state interests more resolutely and uncompromisingly.

From the rostrum of this Congress I should like to wish them to display more initiative and take a more principled stand.

I feel that special mention must be made of the participation of women in executive work—party, local government, economic, and other work. It has to be acknowledged that so far not all the possibilities are being used to promote women to executive posts. This must be corrected.

In the period under review the Central Committee gave more attention to *checking the fulfillment of adopted decisions*. We began to hear reports from more executives of different levels who are personally responsible for specific areas of work. The Council of Ministers of the USSR, the ministries and departments, and the party and local government bodies in the republics, territories and regions were oriented on working along these lines. More was done by the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee and by the commissions of local party bodies to combat violations of party and state discipline. On the whole, quite a lot is being done. However, verification of fulfillment is still a weak spot in the work of a large number of party organizations.

Questions of Inner-Party Life

The work of party organizations cannot be really effective if members attend meetings solely in order to sit them out and hear the speakers listed beforehand. As at the plenary meeting of any party committee, at a party meeting all urgent matters must be discussed in depth and seriously. It was of the utmost importance, of course, that the preparations for the Congress were conducted in precisely that way.

The election meetings showed that members of our party heard and responded to the call of the Central Committee. In most cases they were highly productive. The meetings of primary and shop party organizations and of party groups were attended by 96 per cent of the membership. Nearly 10 million people took the floor.

The content of what was said is indicative of the Communists' sense of responsibility for their work, for everything that is being done in the party and in the country. The meetings, conferences, and congresses exactingly assessed the work of elected party organs. They criticized omissions and shortcomings and made many valuable suggestions.

Letters and suggestions from citizens are an immensely important channel of the party's living bond with the masses. The people have unbounded confidence in the party; speak candidly to it of the most pressing issues of public life, work, and everyday life; frankly state their views and concerns; and criticize existing shortcomings. The Central Committee attaches great significance to work with letters and to speedy responses to them.

The instructions of the Twenty-fifth Congress of the CPSU stimulated the extension of *criticism and self-criticism* in the party. Everything should be done to continue fostering this positive trend, to assert in all party organizations a spirit of self-criticism and irreconcilability to shortcomings.

Any attempt at persecution for criticism must be resolutely cut short. Our stand on this question is clearly recorded in the Party Rules. It is also reflected in the Constitution of the USSR. There must be no condoning of those who muzzle criticism—such is the demand of both the party and the state law.

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Soviet people look at the future with confidence. But their optimism is not the confidence of favorites of destiny. Our people know that everything they have has been created by their own labor and protected by their own blood. Also, we are optimists because we have faith in the power of labor, because we have faith in our country, in our people. We are optimists because we have faith in our party and know that the road it is indicating is the only sure one.

Honor and glory to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a party of builders of communism.

May our great country, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, continue to grow stronger and flourish.

Long live peace.

Long live communism.

7

Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990

*Report by N. A. Tikhonov,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the USSR, to the 26th Congress
of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union*

February 27, 1981

This summary consists of excerpts from N. A. Tikhonov's report. While the material which follows is verbatim, and covers the main points of the report, much detail and discussion had to be omitted; the reader is invited to consult the full text of the report, which is available in English.

Comrades Delegates,

With every five-year plan our tasks grow bigger and more complex. Evidence of this is the draft Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990 submitted to the 26th Congress by the party's Central Committee.

The Guidelines generalize the practice of building communism in the USSR, take the experience of other socialist countries into account, sum up the results of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, define the targets for economic and social development in the next five years and in the period up to 1990, and detail the measures for their attainment.

There has been considerable comment on the draft Guidelines abroad. Our friends see it as further convincing proof of the triumph of the ideals and practice of existing socialism. They share with us the joy of our labor

achievements and cordially wish Soviet people new successes.

It is indicative that many realistically-minded Western politicians and businessmen note the peaceful tenor of our plans, the unchangeable striving of the party and the Soviet people for lasting peace in the world.

As regards the attacks on the socialist economic system, the slanderous inventions of our enemies that the Soviet economy is in "crisis," they are rejected by life.

In contrast to capitalist society with its acute social contradictions, unemployment, inflation, crises and recessions, and the escalating arms race, socialism spells out society's sociopolitical and ideological unity, concern for working people, the advantages of the socialist system of economy, economic planning, and a policy of curbing the arms race.

In this confrontation of two worlds—the socialist and the capitalist—socialism has the advantage of stable economic growth, steadily rising living and cultural standards, the soundness of Marxist-Leninist ideas, social justice, humanism, genuine democracy, and our socialist way of life whose motto is: "All in the name of man, all for the benefit of man." The future belongs to socialism.

I. Economic Growth and the Growth of the People's Well-Being in the Period of the Tenth Five-Year Plan

The orientations of the nation's economic and social development under the Tenth Five-Year Plan were entirely in accord with the line charted by the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU. As a result, all areas and aspects of Soviet society's life developed dynamically.

The people's well-being rose and there was a growth of the country's production, scientific, and technological potential. The sociopolitical and ideological unity of the people was further consolidated, the alliance of the working class, the peasants, and the intelligentsia and the inviolable friendship among all the nations and ethnic groups grew stronger, and socialist democracy was deepened.

In turning to specific indicators characterizing the nation's development, it should be noted, above all, that during the past five years there have been a dramatic growth of scale of our economy and large absolute increments in production. Compared with the period of the Ninth Five-Year Plan the national income grew by 400 billion rubles and industrial output by 717 billion rubles.

Despite the unfavorable weather during three of the five years, farm output went up by an average of nine per cent annually. The mean annual grain output reached 205 million tons for the first time, increasing by over 23

million tons compared with the period of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The mean annual cotton output rose by more than a million tons. In 1980 the cotton crop amounted to nearly ten million tons. The output of other agricultural produce likewise increased.

The party consistently steered a course towards raising living and cultural standards. Per capita real incomes rose. Towards the close of the past five-year period nearly half of the population had a monthly income of over 100 rubles per member of the family; in 1970 such an income was earned by only 18 per cent of the population.

Average wages and salaries rose by almost 16 per cent and the incomes of the collective farmers from collective farming grew by 26 per cent. There were pay rises for individual categories of workers in key industries such as ferrous and non-ferrous metals, coal, textiles, construction, agriculture, and the railways. Wage and salary rates were increased for all workers in non-production industries.

While speaking highly of the achievements in the period of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, the party sees difficulties and shortcomings. I am referring first of all to the fact that we fell short of the task of boosting labor productivity, accelerated development of individual branches of the national economy, and putting an end to the dispersion of investments. Resources were not always used efficiently. This was stated plainly in the CPSU Central Committee Report and in the speeches of delegates.

The main reason for the difficulties and shortcomings, for the weak points in the economy, are, as was noted in the Central Committee Report, that we have not yet entirely done away with the force of inertia and the traditions and habits left over from the period when the accent was not so much on quality as on quantity.

II. Main Targets of the Country's Economic and Social Development in the Eleventh Five-Year Period

As it enters the 1980s, the party puts forward a scientific program for the country's further economic and social development.

The targets for the new five-year period are defined in the context of the prospects for a ten-year period. This makes it possible to ensure continuity in the implementation of economic policy, correctly chart immediate and longer-term targets, and define the ways and means of resolving the economy's key problems. This is an important step in the further improvement of our planning.

The cardinal aim that the party is setting for the next five-year period is to ensure a further rise of the Soviet people's living standards through stable,

ongoing economic development, accelerated scientific and technological progress, the economy's transition to intensive development, a more rational use of the nation's production potential, the maximum saving of all kinds of resources, and an improvement of the quality of work.

In the next five years the party plans to put into effect a set of measures aimed at consistently boosting the people's well-being, creating ever more favorable conditions for the all-sided development of the individual, for highly productive work, building up the health of Soviet people and providing them with more facilities for rest and leisure, and promoting education, science, and culture, in fact, everything that comprises our socialist way of life.

The proportion of the consumption fund in the national income is to be increased. Real per capita incomes will rise by 16-18 per cent. The cash incomes of the population will continue to grow. Average wages and salaries are to rise by 13-16 per cent. The incomes of collective farmers are to grow by 20-22 per cent. Taking into account the incomes from personal subsidiary holdings, this will bring them closer to the incomes of factory and office workers.

As you all know, many measures of great practical significance to each Soviet family are financed by our state through the social consumption funds. In 1985 these funds will amount to 138 billion rubles or approximately to an average of 2,000 rubles per family of four.

The party's Central Committee and the Government have worked out a new set of measures to improve the life of mothers and the rising generation and, for these purposes, to increase state allowances to families with children and to newly-weds.

In the next five years, there is to be an improvement of the living conditions of labor veterans retired on pension, an increase of the minimum old-age and disability pensions for factory and office workers, and collective farmers, loss of breadwinner pensions, and some pensions granted earlier.

Concern for people's health is a distinctive feature of our society. The next five years will see the building of new polyclinics and hospitals and an improved supply of technology, instruments, and equipment for medical institutions. More attention is to be given to disease-prevention and to preventive medical checkups, for children in the first place. Priority is now given to improving the quality of the medical services.

As in previous years, housing construction is to proceed on a large scale in the next five years. During that time it is planned to build 530,000,000–540,000,000 sq. m of housing. Here priority must be given to areas under development and to rural localities. We plan to complete the transition to the building of houses according to standard blueprints with an improved layout and decoration of apartments. In the next five years new

state-built housing is to be distributed mainly on the principle of a separate apartment for every family.

In speaking of the program for social development for the coming years, it must be emphasized that this program attaches special significance to improving working conditions, and to doing everything to reduce manual, unskilled, and arduous labor, and providing better conditions for it.

Maximizing the efficiency of production is a basic principle of contemporary economic development, a most important economic and political task at the present stage of communist construction.

In the 1980s we have to complete the switchover of the economy to intensification. A distinctive feature of the plan for the next five years is that it provides for the priority growth of ultimate economic results compared with the increase of manpower and material expenditures, including capital investments. Steps are envisaged to ensure the most rational use of all the available resources.

The principal factor in economic growth is increasing the productivity of labor. Under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan the productivity of social labor must be increased by 17-20 per cent. This is to account for no less than 85-90 per cent of the growth of the national income.

In all branches of the economy it is essential to create the conditions for highly productive work, to accelerate integrated mechanization and automation in every way, persistently introduce team-based organization of work, perfect rate-setting, and enhance the incentive role of earnings. Arrangements have to be made to increase production at existing enterprises with the same or fewer personnel. Also, attention should be given to making more rational use of labor in the nonproductive sphere.

One of the key tasks of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan is the fuller and more effective use of fixed production assets. They are growing rapidly, but the proper returns on them in many cases elude us. The rate of return on investment and other economic indicators are adversely affected by delays in putting new production plant into operation. We have to make appreciable headway in increasing capital investment productivity. The proposed growth of the national income in the five-year period should be ensured with a lower growth of capital investments, in both absolute and relative terms, than in the previous five years.

Special mention should be made of capital investments in the reconstruction and technical modernization of existing enterprises. The funds allocated for these purposes are, on the average, recouped three times faster than in creating similar production capacities through new construction; labor requirements are also reduced. The share of funds for reconstruction in the sum

total of capital investments should be increased considerably.

The role of science in the development of present-day production is growing. The draft Guidelines formulate the task of making scientific research more effective, substantially reducing the time needed to apply the achievements of science and technology, and strengthening the links of fundamental and applied research with production.

A fundamental distinction of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan is a higher growth rate of the "B" group industries compared with that of the "A" group industries.*

The accelerated growth of the "B" group is a matter of great significance. Party and government bodies, ministries and departments, managers and personnel of enterprises have to bend all their efforts to expanding the production of goods for the population and substantially improving their quality. What is particularly important here is to display initiative and perseverance, and to make fuller use of all the available potentialities and reserves both in the light and food industries, and in heavy industry. Local resources too have to be put to better use to increase the production of consumer goods. It is a matter of the honor and professional pride of all those who produce goods for the population to manufacture good-quality and attractive products, which bring pleasure to people's homes and raise their spirits.

A decisive role in advancing the national economy and securing good end results is played by the basic industries: the electric power, iron and steel, chemical, and engineering industries.

The Eleventh Five-Year Plan will mark the first stage in implementing the energy program of the USSR, which is being worked out at Comrade Brezhnev's initiative. Prime significance is attached in it to the rapid development of the gas industry, above all in Western Siberia, which has dependable reserves of this raw material. Under the new five-year plan Western Siberia is to account for the entire increase in gas production.

Electric power production is to be increased chiefly by using nuclear fuel, hydropower resources, and coal in the eastern areas of the country. It is planned that in 1981–1985 nuclear and hydropower plants will account for more than 70 per cent of the rise in electric power production, and in the European part of the country they will account for almost the entire production increase. Big thermal power projects are to be based on the cheap coal mined by open-cast techniques in the Kansk-Achinsk and Ekibastuz coalfields.

* "Group A" refers to industries producing means of production, i.e., capital goods; "Group B" refers to the consumer goods industries.—Ed.

In the coming years it is proposed to initiate a fundamentally new trend in the centralized heat supplies of big cities, namely to build several big nuclear heat-provision stations, each of which will be able to assure dependable heat supplies to a city of many thousands of inhabitants without polluting the environment.

The targets in increasing agricultural production are very formidable. Achieving them will require considerably improving the utilization of the allocated resources and further increasing farm production and making it more efficient.

The most important tasks are those of increasing grain production, radically improving fodder production and expanding livestock farming on that basis, and taking steps to reduce losses of farm produce and to improve its quality.

The per capita growth of agricultural production is to be twice that of the previous five years. To secure this requires better use of the land, promoting the specialization and concentration of farm production, further strengthening the material and technical basis of agriculture, and its transition to industrial lines and advanced technologies. It is envisaged to raise the level of the mechanization of agricultural work, first and foremost at livestock farms. The power per worker ratio on the collective and state farms will go up in the five-year period by 50 per cent, and the assets per worker ratio, by 40 per cent.

III. Development of Foreign Economic Relations

Expanding economic, scientific and technical ties with other countries using the opportunities of mutually beneficial international division of labor, is an important area in the activity of the Soviet state.

It is only natural that now, as before, cooperation with socialist countries is at the center of our attention. Economic, scientific, and technical ties between the fraternal countries rest on the enduring foundation of common interest, their nature is profound and all-embracing. Large-scale integrated projects, such as the Druzhba oil pipeline, the Mir power grid, and the Bratstvo and Soyuz gas pipelines are in service and doing good work. Their very names—Friendship, Peace, Fraternity and Alliance—reflect the essence of the new type of economic relations as relations of fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance. We will continue to improve the coordination of our national economic plans with those of other CMEA member countries, and to deepen socialist economic integration. We see this as an important means of strengthening socialism's positions in the world economy, and of shielding the socialist countries from the harmful tendencies witnessed in the world

capitalist economy. The volume of Soviet trade with our CMEA partners is to increase substantially.

Our cooperation with the developing countries is being built on a fair and equitable foundation. It is served by trade and by the economic assistance we give them in building industrial and agricultural projects, and training national personnel, and by the implementation of agreements for long-term industrial cooperation.

As before, the Soviet Union is in favor of stable mutually beneficial ties with the capitalist countries, and their expansion based on strict observance of mutual commitments. We give due credit to many of the capitalist countries and their businessmen for their constructive approach to questions of international economic cooperation and will develop our trade first of all with these countries. It is not our fault, for example, that trade with the USA is declining or stagnating. That is a result of US policy, which is designed to use trade for unseemly political ends foreign to the interests of equitable international cooperation. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we are prepared to develop economic relations with the United States as well on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

IV. Steadily Improve the Standard of Control and Management

In accordance with the decisions of the 25th Congress, much has been done in recent years to improve the economic mechanism and the forms and methods of management in industry, agriculture and construction. We are going over to double- and three-tiered systems of management based on industrial and other production amalgamations. The powers and functions of ministries have been extended. Some of them have been reorganized. New ones have been set up to suit the needs of the national economy. The Party sees further improvement of management and the economic mechanism as an essential condition for the growth and increased effectiveness of social production.

Ministries and departments, and economic executives must work energetically to make sure that the envisaged measures are carried out in full and the amalgamations and enterprises go over to the new pattern of management. There can be no excuse here for procrastination and passiveness.

Practice shows that not all branches of the economy have used up the opportunities for heightening efficiency of production through improvements in the system of management. We must make a close analysis of the principles on which amalgamations are organized and of the mechanism by which they function, and see whether or not the required concentration and specialization of production is being carried into effect. Are the powers and duties

apportioned effectively between the amalgamations and the producer subdivisions that come into their framework? Clearly, encroachment on the powers of one side and granting excess powers to the other do not make for successful operation. Yet, this is sometimes seen in practice.

National economic planning is the supreme principle of management. It is the dictate of life to raise all planning to a qualitatively new level; this applies above all to the State Planning Committee of the USSR. Now more than ever it must concentrate attention on resolving the key, long-term issues, and on determining the optimum inter-sectoral and territorial proportions.

I would like to make special mention of better balancing. The imbalances and deficits that arise now and then in some sectors of the national economy cause considerable economic damage and complicate the fight for efficiency and quality. To assure the proper balance of the economy we must secure a higher standard in the scientific grounding of plans and make broader use of special-purpose programming and balance methods of planning, of progressive standards for the use of resources.

Good balance depends in large measure on strict on-schedule fulfillment of the production plan and delivery of goods by each amalgamation and enterprise, and each sector, in keeping with the required range of goods. This should be facilitated by gearing the assessment of the work of enterprises to their fulfillment of contractual commitments. We will be more demanding and make economic executives observe discipline in fulfilling plans and contracts.

As we invigorate planned guidance of the economy, it is also essential to continue developing management accounting on the basis of the five-year plan assignments and long-term economic standards, to improve price setting, crediting and financing, and to make broad use of the whole system of economic levers and stimuli. We will go over in due course to new wholesale prices and tariffs. This will make them more effective in spurring scientific and technical progress, in updating and improving the quality of products, in promoting economical use of materials, and will make for normal economically self-sufficient operation of enterprises.

Among the problems it is high time to resolve is that of lowering the costs of production. We must impart the former importance to this indicator in raising the profitability of production, and in assessing the performance of enterprises.

The improvements in the management mechanism call insistently for deep-going change in the content, methods and style of activity, for remolding the very psychology of managerial staff. The economic executive must have a profound grasp of the scientific and technical fundamentals of production, its organization and economics, and must be conversant in methods of securing a high productivity of labor and high quality of products; his professional competence must be compounded with political and ideological breadth of

vision, and with the ability of dealing with people. Never before have efficiency, farsightedness, energy, perseverance, and socialist enterprise been so important for the executive as they are now. And the many thousands of captains of production brought up by the party can be held up as models of skilled management. To use the words of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, they are real organizers, people with sober and practical minds. But there are also executives who devote all their energy to getting lower plan targets and higher allocations of resources, to having the plan downwardly revised by referring to circumstances they allege to have been beyond their control. That sort of enterprise we do not need. There have been legitimate references at the Congress to the need for raising the responsibility of the chiefs of ministries, departments, amalgamations and enterprises for the work entrusted to them and for its results, to the need for resolutely combatting parochialist and departmental tendencies, and for tightening control over the fulfillment of the directives of superior bodies and their own decisions.

Effective socialist management is inconceivable without reliance on the collective of personnel and without cultivating a truly proprietary attitude to production, conversance in economics, and without the high-quality performance of each and every employee. It calls for effective organization and does not suffer negligence or breaches of discipline. To put things in train everywhere, to call the unconscientious to order, and pull up the sections that have fallen behind—that too, comrades, offers no small possibilities for improving the results of production.

In the present conditions, great economic and social significance attaches to the further involvement of workers, collective farmers, office workers and professionals in running production, and to enhancing the role of the trade unions as the most massive organization of all in settling questions of production, work, everyday life and leisure of the working people. Now at the beginning of a new five-year period, it is essential to give still greater impulse to the socialist emulation movement, to the nationwide movements for the rational use of resources, for reducing various losses and waste, and unproductive expenditure, and for rooting out mismanagement and extravagance.

The great cause of building communism and safeguarding peace, of improving the life of Soviet people, has been well served by the ten past five-year plans. Our new, Eleventh Five-Year Plan, is also focused on these aims.

The draft Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981–1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990, submitted for your consideration, expresses the vital national interests and defines the requisites for the further all-round progress of Soviet society. □

8

Speeches of the Delegates

This chapter gives a sampling of excerpts from the presentations of delegates to the Congress, which were part of the debates on the Brezhnev and Tikhonov reports. The contributions, from all occupational levels and diverse nationality groups and regions of the country, are arranged alphabetically, as follows:

- ANATOLY ALEXANDROV: President, USSR Academy of Sciences
- ALEXEY CHERNY: First Secretary, Khabarovsk Territory, CPSU
- ALEXANDER CHERVIAKOV: Chairman, Collective Farm, Kirov Region
- VLADIMIR CHICHEROV: Worker, Turbine-Building Production Association, Leningrad
- MUHAMEDNAZAR GAPUROV: First Secretary, Communist Party, Turkmenia
- VALENTINA GOLUBEVA: Weaver, Worsted Mill, Ivanovo
- VIKTOR GRISHIN: First Secretary, Moscow City Committee, CPSU
- TIKHON KHRENNIKOV: First Secretary, Union of Soviet Composers
- ALEXANDER KOLESNIKOV: Miner, Voroshilovgrad Region
- DINMUKHAMED KUNAYEV: First Secretary, Communist Party, Kazakhstan
- GEDRGİ MARKOV: First Secretary, Union of Soviet Writers
- VALENTIN MESYATS: USSR Minister of Agriculture
- VASILY NAUMKIN: Furnaceman, Iron and Steel Works, Magnitogorsk
- BORIS PASTUKHOV: First Secretary, Young Communist League
- VIKTOR PDLYAKOV: USSR Minister of the Automotive Industry
- MIDHAT SHAKIROV: First Secretary, Bashkir Regional Committee, CPSU
- EDUARD SHEVARDNADZE: First Secretary, Communist Party, Georgia
- ALEXANDER SHIBAYEV: Chairman, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions
- ALEXANDRA SMIRNOVA: Teacher, Secondary School, Kostroma Region
- ANATOLY SUROVTSEV: Worker, Construction Industry, Moscow
- LIDIA TIKHOMIRDVA: Manager, Knitwear Production Association, Kalinin
- TURDALUN USUBALIYEV: First Secretary, Communist Party, Kirghizia
- CARL VAINO: First Secretary, Communist Party, Estonia

Anatoly Alexandrov

Academician, President of the USSR Academy of Sciences

Today Soviet science is responsible for about a third of the world's scientific output. This is the result of permanent attention by our party, the CPSU Central Committee, the republic and many regional party organizations. This attention aids our work, inspires us and enables us to create the necessary basis for our science. As we enter a new five-year plan period, we can say that the contribution of Soviet scientists to world science will be considerably higher than what we have already achieved.

It is extremely pleasing that Soviet science, having mastered new trends, and in some cases even earlier than was done in the West, is now making great headway.

The USA expected to impede our progress by imposing an embargo on some materials and technology. But it miscalculated. We rapidly developed our own projects and can now sell, for example, certain catalysts that are better than those we receive from foreign firms.

It is good that many branches of our industry pursue a course of creating progressive Soviet processes and technology; electronics, means of communication, several chemical branches, the electrotechnical industry, several machine-building and instrument-making industry branches have made great progress. We need to continue actively developing Soviet machinery and technology: we have no right to create for ourselves spheres where we lag behind technically, or use foreign technology on an unjustifiably large scale.

Much work is being done in oil and gas exploration, in the organization of their production and transportation. Methods of using other natural hydrocarbons are being developed. The methods which Estonian specialists have developed for using shale to produce energy should be applied in Kazakhstan and the Volga regions where shale is found in large quantities. Of exceptional importance is not only the use of coal for energy, but also the development of progressive technology to obtain liquid and gaseous fuel from it. The goal of all this is the creation of a solid, long-term energy base for the Soviet economy. We are not threatened with an energy crisis even in the long-term perspective. Of course we have to consume our resources more thrifitily and not waste energy, and considerably intensify our effective energy-saving policy.

The Institutes of the Academy of Sciences are conducting research to help fulfill an important social task—the protection of our people's health. I must stress the great part played by the Latvian, Estonian, Armenian, Ukrainian,

Uzbek and other republican academies and the USSR Academy of Sciences in the development and production of medicines.

Leonid Illich, do you remember that you asked me at the 25th Party Congress whether there was any "bomb" against influenza?* At that time I told you about the successful work that Leningrad physicists and chemists at the Institute of Nuclear Physics were doing along with the Pasteur Institute of the Ministry of Public Health. Thanks to this work, the number of people who fall victim to these diseases has declined sharply in Leningrad, which had one of the highest incidences of influenza.

The Department of the Microbiological Industry has organized the production of a vaccine, and already last year manufactured about ten million doses and this year promises to produce 25 million, which will considerably reduce the number of influenza cases in the country. I have not caught the flu in the past five years.

We are engaged in joint activities with some ministries, based on an agreed plan to speed putting scientific discoveries into practice. The personnel of industry is already taking part in this work in the early stages, either at the institutes of the Academy of Sciences or in jointly created laboratories.

Because of this method we in many instances no longer use the word "introduction": under the new circumstances industrial personnel are themselves interested in mastering the new developments. In some sectors of machine building, in means of communications, electronics, chemical, microbiology and other industries, the work has moved ahead well, but unfortunately it is not as well organized everywhere.

A great deal of work is being done on the comprehensive plans and programs of the State Committee for Science and Technology, the State Planning Committee and the USSR Academy of Sciences. Important comprehensive problems have now been singled out that will determine scientific and technical progress over the next few years.

From the rostrum of this Congress, I would like to state that all Soviet scientists ardently approve and support the efforts of the CPSU Central Committee, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Leonid Illich Brezhnev to promote detente and safeguard peace. Only this policy is in the interest of every person in our country, and the absolute majority of people around the world.

We scientists clearly realize the possible consequences of a nuclear war, and believe that there is no more important or reasonable policy than that of preventing war. □

*See *Building a New Society: The 25th Congress of the CPSU*, NWR Publications, 1977, p. 83.—Ed.

Alexey Cherny

First Secretary, Khabarovsk Territorial Committee of the CPSU

Industrial output in the Khabarovsk territory has increased by 26 per cent in the past five years. The engineering and metal-working industries, shipbuilding, oil refining and the extraction of non-ferrous metals have been expanding at priority rates. The technological level of production and the quality of goods have risen. Today our territory's industry accounts for nearly one-third of the industrial output of the Far Eastern region.

Thirty per cent more funds have been invested in the economy compared with the ninth five-year period, and scores of industrial projects, transport facilities and big agricultural complexes have been put into operation. The eastern stretch of the Baikal-Amur Railway, the Urgal-Postyshevo section, has been opened to traffic much earlier than scheduled. The laying of the main track has been completed in our territory and the eastern section of the Baikal-Amur Railway has begun full normal operation.

In the tenth five-year period the average annual gross output of agriculture in the territory rose by 43 per cent. The five-year plan for procuring most of the main products of farming and animal husbandry has been overfulfilled.

The past few years have seen a further flowering of the material and cultural life of the minority nationalities of the lower Amur and the Okhotsk coast and of the working people of the Jewish Autonomous Region (Birobidzhan).

We view our results critically and realize that we are still insufficiently utilizing the reserves and possibilities for swifter and more integrated development of productive forces. The territorial party organization will work even more persistently to eliminate shortcomings in the economic and cultural fields. In keeping with Comrade Brezhnev's directions on the need for the earliest possible economic development of the Baikal-Amur Railway zone, in the Far East along with the modernization of existing enterprises construction will begin of new plants of the engineering, iron-and-steel, non-ferrous metals, chemical, timber and woodworking industries. The scale of capital construction in the five-year period is to be increased by at least 50 per cent in the Khabarovsk Territory alone, and social and cultural construction will continue on a large scale.

The problems of faster development of the power industry deserve special attention. The marked shortage of electric and thermal energy, which is felt even now in the territory's economy, and the lagging electrification of the eastern section of the Baikal-Amur Railway, are due above all to the slow

construction of electric stations and power transmission lines because of the insufficient capacity of power-construction organizations in the Far East.

Very urgent measures are also required sharply to increase the mining of brown coal by speeding the construction of new open-cast mines to supply fuel for power stations.

A particularly urgent problem is that of attracting and establishing a stable workforce in the Far East. We are very grateful to Leonid Brezhnev, who in the Central Committee Report pointed to the need "to even out social differences on the territorial plane." □

Alexander Cherviakov

Chairman, "Lenin's Path" Collective Farm, Kotelnichesky District, Kirov Region

For 26 years now my fellow villagers have been electing me chairman of our collective farm. To be frank, things did not go smoothly at the beginning; we had our ups and downs. But our people's perseverance and determination finally won the day.

During the last five-year period alone we have built complexes for the drying and treatment of grain and flax seed, storage sheds for grain and mineral fertilizer, heated sheds for machinery, silage and hay facilities for 12,000 tons of feed and cow sheds housing 3,300 head of livestock.

We have been able to accomplish all this because of the special measures for the further development of agriculture in the non-black earth zone of the Russian Federation adopted by the party and the government.

In accordance with this decision the agricultural enterprises of the Kirov region alone received 1.7 billion rubles of capital investment in the last five-year period. As a result we were able considerably to strengthen productive facilities, extend land improvement and chemicalization, start modernizing our villages and increase the agricultural output of the region's collective and state farms by 11 per cent and that of grain by 36 per cent.

The experience of leading farms shows that our non-black earth zone has substantial untapped reserves and possibilities for sharply increasing the output of crop farming and livestock breeding. The main thing now, as has been pointed out in the Central Committee report, is the effective use of the funds allocated for the countryside. I am convinced that the problem of establishing a stable workforce on farms is an increasingly important one at the present stage, when migration of the rural population is continuing. That is why our party organization and the collective-farm management board pay

much attention to questions of social development. We have drawn up and are fulfilling a long-term program of our collective farm's social and economic development. In the last few years we built anew the farm's central premises, installed necessary utilities and yet preserved all the advantages of rural life. In our collective farm settlement we have a secondary general school and a music school, a house of culture, a canteen, a shopping center, service shops, a bath and laundry, and preschool, medical and other institutions. The number of able-bodied workers on our farm is increasing every year. We are now fully staffed, and turnover of staff has virtually stopped.

All our experience convincingly shows that a stable workforce can be firmly established in the countryside only by tackling production and social problems in a comprehensive way.

Having a stable and experienced workforce enables us to use machinery much better and to perform all the farming operations properly and without delay and, most important for us, to secure high yields from every hectare of land.

We have acquired an extra 500 hectares of plowland simply by plowing nearly all the land released by vacating small villages. We apply lime and introduce ample quantities of organic fertilizer on a large scale.

In the tenth five-year period we doubled the area sown to flax, a traditional crop in the non-black earth zone, bringing it up to 700 hectares and cleared a net profit of more than 1.5 million rubles from it. It is no secret, however, that many farms incur losses from growing flax because they use a great deal of labor and little machinery. We therefore believe flax growing should receive much more attention and that a set of highly productive and reliable machines should be developed without delay.

The level of technology of flax treatment is also low. Though this is not a new problem, for a long time it has not received proper attention from the ministries of agriculture and of light industry. In our view it should be tackled along the lines of agro-industrial integration, of combining the management of and responsibility for both the growing and the initial processing of flax.

There is another burning issue. These days many collective and state farms are building well-appointed settlements but there are no public utility services in the countryside. So the collective-farm chairman has to double as a plumber and search everywhere for everything necessary to maintain public utilities. We believe that it is high time for the Ministry of Housing and Utilities of the Russian Federation to set up such a service in the countryside and run it as is done in towns. □

Vladimir Chicherov

Leader of an assembly team, Leningrad "Metallicheskij Zavod" Turbine-Building Production Association

The amalgamation has built new vocational schools and children's nurseries and we are setting up subsidiary farms and recreation centers.

Many of our workers have moved to new flats. But the main thing is the increasing ideological and political maturity, the rising educational level and professional skill of our workers.

We distinctly feel the more active role the amalgamation's party organization is playing in everything—production matters, questions of the ideological and moral education of our workers, and improvement of living and working conditions and leisure facilities. In mobilizing the workforce to accomplish the tasks set by the party, all of its units have grown stronger organizationally, have become more active and are fulfilling with honor the role of political core of the amalgamation's workforce.

In discussing the draft Guidelines the people of Leningrad paid much attention to the wider use of collective forms of work organization, which in the current five-year period are to be of decisive importance.

Our team has undertaken to perform the entire cycle of making large-size metal constructions. We work with one work-sheet for all. Each worker has mastered three related trades. The engineering services have helped us draft an integrated plan for raising the team's labor efficiency, which envisages maximum utilization of the technical possibilities of the equipment, the use of tools and attachments of advanced types and reducing the amount of manual work. There are no violations of labor discipline in our team.

As a result we were able to release one-third of the team's workers to take other jobs for which they were urgently needed and we have increased output by 50 per cent.

In speaking of the advantages of the team form of organizing work we do not overlook problems. The functions of the team leader and of team councils need to be specified more precisely. Such matters as rate setting, pay, and management accounting have not been sufficiently elaborated.

The organization of team leaders' training deserves greater attention. It would be well to have established rules obliging economic executives to provide all the conditions needed for the highly effective performance of teams, such as adequate planning, production preparation and material and technical supply.

I wholly support the points in the Central Committee report against tolerating breaches of labor discipline, irresponsible practices and attempts to

take more from society and to give less to it. I am convinced that these demands of the party will have the full support of work collectives.

Very great hardships fell to the lot of Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War. My generation did not take part in the war, but its flames seared our childhood. Like thousands of other boys and girls I was evacuated from the besieged city of Leningrad, which was never defeated. Dear comrades, I offer my sincere gratitude to our party and to our dear Leonid Brezhnev, who are doing everything to ensure man's most important right, the right to live in peace. □

Muhamednazar Gapurov

First Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Turkmenia

We are glad to report to the 26th Congress that in the course of the tenth five-year period, working shoulder to shoulder with the other fraternal peoples of our country, Soviet Turkmenia has scored definite achievements in its economic and social development. Industrial production increased by three billion rubles compared with the ninth five-year period, while fixed assets grew by 46 per cent. Power engineering and the gas, chemical and light industries developed at priority rates. In the Kara Kum desert 343 billion cubic meters of natural gas has been extracted, which is 156 billion cubic meters more than in the two preceding five-year periods, the annual gas output being nearly 70 billion cubic meters. In the tenth five-year period we produced 55 million tons of oil with condensate, the output of electricity grew by 50 per cent, there was a marked increase in the production of chemicals and consumer goods, and the quality of goods was raised.

The consistent implementation of the party's agrarian policy has yielded tangible results. Gross agricultural output grew by 19 per cent, which is above the target set in the past five-year period. We are proud of our achievements in growing cotton. There was a marked increase in the production of grain, vegetables, meat, milk and other farm produce.

Social consumption funds grew by 44 per cent compared with the ninth five-year period, and people's real incomes increased. Every sixth person in the republic moved to a new flat in the past five-year period. The Communists and all working people of our republic are well aware that all Turkmenia's achievements are due to the great concern of the Communist Party and the Soviet government, to the Leninist national policy which they are firmly and consistently pursuing.

While speaking of our achievements we clearly see our shortcomings and

unresolved problems, the vast untapped reserves and opportunities for raising production efficiency and the quality of work in every sector of economic and cultural development. This was the subject of acute and principled discussion at party report-back and election meetings, at district, city and regional conferences and at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmenia.

The fuel and power complex will develop at priority rates in the eleventh five-year period. Gas extraction will rise to 81–83 billion cubic meters a year, generation of electricity will increase by 80 per cent, oil refining will double while the production of mineral fertilizer will nearly treble. The construction of the "Lenin" Kara Kum canal will continue. We have certain difficulties, however. In agriculture, millions of hectares of fertile virgin land in areas with a favorable climate cannot be used for lack of irrigation water, or need land improvement. We are therefore counting on more effective assistance from the USSR State Planning Committee and the USSR Ministry of Land Improvement and Water Economy in allocating necessary capital investments. In their speeches comrades D.A. Kunayev and S.R. Rashidov proposed starting the construction of hydroengineering works to divert part of the runoff of Siberian rivers to Kazakhstan and Central Asia. We support this proposal and ask the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers to approve it. I would like to make another point. In the final year of the tenth five-year period the Council of Ministers, the State Planning Committee and ministries of the USSR passed several decisions on further development of the oil- and gas-extracting, chemical, oil-refining and petrochemical industries and on the strengthening of construction and assembly organizations. But part of the projects were not included in the plan for 1981. We hope that necessary corrections will be made in the plan for 1982 and subsequent years.

The imperialists and Maoists are belittling the significance of the great successes scored by Soviet fraternal peoples in the course of Communist construction, distorting the essence of the CPSU's Leninist national policy, stepping up their propaganda for all kinds of reactionary prejudices and striving to sow discord among our brotherly peoples. But all these efforts are in vain. Our strength lies in the friendship and brotherhood of all the peoples of our country. The Turkmenian people know of this mighty strength from their own experience of history. We offer our heartfelt gratitude to all the peoples of the Soviet Union and to the great Russian people, for their selfless assistance. We shall do everything to promote, strengthen and cement this friendship and to preserve it as the apple of our eye. □

Valentina Golubeva

Weaver at the "Lenin" Worsted Mill, Ivanovo

Important progress has been made during the tenth five-year period in developing textile production and engineering. The region produced more than two billion rubles worth of consumer goods above the preceding five-year period. The output of basic agricultural crops has increased. Much has been done to improve housing conditions, especially for disabled veterans of the Great Patriotic War and families of those who fell at the front. The new hospital for women has the most up-to-date facilities and equipment. An institute of maternity and childhood has been opened and nurseries have been built for 18,400 children.

The textile workers of Ivanovo regard modernization and retooling of factories as the main way to steadily increase the output of attractive and durable fabrics. The regional party organization has drawn up and begun implementing an eight-year plan for continued modernization of the textile industry. In this connection we would like to ask the planning agencies and the relevant ministries and departments to back up our pledges with the necessary equipment and materials, and to provide more funds to build houses for the textile workers who will come to operate the new machinery.

I would also like to propose that our major scientific institutions play a more active part in solving the difficult problems of scientific and technological progress in the textile industry, with a view to expanding production of consumer goods, so that, in the words of Leonid Brezhnev, the union of creative thought and of creative work may grow closer all the time.

In conclusion, I would like to say that, like millions of other mothers, I ardently approve the peaceful foreign policy of our party. From this rostrum I declare that for Soviet people the great word, "peace," has always been and will always be the most beautiful and welcome of all words. □

Viktor Grishin

First Secretary, Moscow City Committee of the CPSU

The Moscow party organization in the period under review directed its activities toward implementing the economic and social policy charted by the 25th Congress. The working people of Moscow fulfilled the five-year plan of economic and social development of the city ahead of time, by November 10, 1980. The economy of the capital, as a component part of

the national economic complex, has been raised to a higher level. The city's industrial output in the past five years grew by 21 per cent.

In accordance with the emphasis on applying intensive factors in economic development, the city party organization concentrated its efforts on building up the city's economic potential, more effectively utilizing existing capacities through restructuring and technical regearing of the operating enterprises and introducing their progressive technology and advanced methods of work. Profound qualitative changes took place in industry. Fixed assets nearly doubled in the 1970s; labor productivity is steadily rising, and output of high-quality products is increasing. In the past five years capital investment in the city has amounted to 15 billion rubles. All types of transport have been further developed. Research institutions have been making a substantial contribution to the advance of the economy, completing 120,000 research projects in the past five years. Ties between science and production have become closer.

Measures to further improve the well-being of working people in the tenth five-year plan period included a 17 per cent increase in output of consumer goods. Wages and salaries were raised, and 22 million square meters of new housing was built, along with schools, hospitals, cultural and public utilities. A General Plan of Reconstruction of Moscow is being implemented. New residential areas, highways and communications facilities as well as 70 Olympic projects were built. Moscow has become a still more handsome city.

The political awareness of the people has grown. Many work collectives and more than 300,000 forward workers have fulfilled the targets set for two months and for the first quarter of the current year by the opening day of the Congress.

While good results have been achieved in the economic and cultural development of the city, we are aware that the shortcomings and difficulties mentioned in the Report have a direct bearing on Moscow too. The city's economic resources and potentialities are not fully utilized. The city party organization is working to improve the economic machinery and to better utilize the city's production and scientific-technological potential.

In the eleventh five-year plan period many economic and social problems of the city have to be solved. We must ensure stable growth rates of industrial output, accelerate the restructuring and technical retooling of enterprises and develop their specialization in producing high-quality goods. We must also take measures to further develop transport facilities, capital construction, municipal economy, and improve the working people's conditions of work, life and rest and recreation.

The Moscow party organization is working hard to put into effect the 25th Congress directives relating to the comprehensive approach to problems of education.

No small part in shaping people's world outlook and moral principles is being played by the 80,000-strong artistic intelligentsia of Moscow. In recent years workers in culture and the arts have created many works which affirm the ideological and moral values of our society. We shall see to it that the role of the artistic intelligentsia in educating working people is further enhanced. □

Tikhon Khrennikov

First Secretary of the Board of the Union of Soviet Composers

A feature of the last five years has been the rapid development of national musical cultures. Their achievements have been acknowledged throughout the Soviet Union and in other countries. For all the diversity of their national distinctions, works of music of the peoples of the USSR constitute one whole, a vanguard of twentieth century music.

In recent years Soviet composers have been joined by a large number of gifted young workers in this field. In our day-to-day activities we have paid great attention to educating young people.

Its democratic spirit has always been Soviet music's strong point. We cherish and develop this tradition bequeathed to us by the great classics. To consolidate this democratic trend even more, it is extremely important to maintain direct living contacts between the creators of music and their audiences.

In recent years meetings of composers, music critics and performers with working people on construction sites, at plants and factories and in rural regions, as well as meetings with servicemen, students and schoolchildren have become much more frequent. Relations of friendship and interested cooperation have developed between workers in the arts and audiences.

A magnificent festival of Soviet music was held in Uzbekistan last autumn, in which more than 2,500 composers and musicians from all over the Soviet Union took part. We can organize such music festivals only thanks to the all-round assistance of party organizations in the republics, territories and regions. This support enables us not only to bring our art to audiences but also to heed the voice of those to whom we devote our work.

Much has been done to consolidate the material basis of musical art during the last few years. Opera houses have been opened and enjoy tremendous success in Dnepropetrovsk and Krasnoyarsk, new music groups have been set up, music schools and splendid concert halls, palaces of culture and clubs have been built. The wonderful children's music theater, the first of its kind in

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the world, which has opened on Lenin Hills in Moscow, is a fine gift to Soviet children. Many such instances could be cited.

The importance of Soviet art and its resonance is not limited to the bounds of our country but is spreading in the world. Some 7,000 Soviet musical compositions, including such major works as operas, ballets and symphonies, have been performed in other countries in the last five years alone.

At the same time, however, our artists' successes arouse the malice of enemies of peace. Enemies of detente directly organize acts of terrorism against masters of Soviet art. At times during their tours abroad our singers, conductors, pianists, violinists and dancers have to demonstrate not only their skill, but true courage and strength of spirit. But no intrigues can blow up the bridges of friendship among nations, bridges that Soviet artistic workers, including Soviet musicians, have always felt it their duty to build and continue to build. □

Alexander Kolesnikov

Head of a miners' team, "Molodogvardeiskaya" mine of the "Krasnodonugol" Association, Voroshilovgrad Region

I represent the many-thousand-strong contingent of coal miners of the Voroshilovgrad region. We miners are constantly aware of the great concern and attention of the party and the government. In recent years a great deal has been done to step up the construction and reconstruction of enterprises, to retool them and improve the miners' working and living conditions. Additional privileges have been established for workers in our industry.

The miners of our association completed ahead of schedule the tasks for coal extraction set for the years of the past five-year plan. A worthwhile contribution was made by our team, too. Working in difficult conditions, in the past five years we extracted more than five million tons, exceeding the plan by 209,000 tons and increasing the average daily output by 70 per cent, to over 3,000 tons. Many mining collectives are working just as well. In the Ukraine there are 111 teams extracting 1,000 or more tons daily.

The country needs a great deal of coal and we shall spare no effort to increase its output. But we miners need new, more reliable and highly-efficient machinery, especially for extracting coal in thin gently sloping and steeply inclined seams and for driving headings in hard rock.

We hope that the scientists, designers and workers in the coal engineering industry will approach the solution of this very important problem with a

greater sense of responsibility. It is also necessary to improve greatly the material and technical supplies to coalmining enterprises. This particularly concerns mine cars, metal props, cap-lamps and spare parts. The shortage of simple spare parts often leads to idling and loss of much fuel. I would also like to support vigorously the points made in the Central Committee report and draft Guidelines on increasing the role of the plan, and further increasing responsibility for the soundness and feasibility of plan assignments.

The role of the working class in managing the affairs of the country and society has always been high, but it has grown particularly with the new Constitution. In our industry, as in any other, tens of thousands of workers have been elected to party committees and other public organizations. The working class is able to run the affairs of society and he the real master of the country because of its ever-rising political and cultural level. Take, for instance, our team, which has 120 members. One in every three is a Communist and one in every four, a Young Communist League member, 31 have a higher or secondary technical education, 10 are studying in higher and specialized secondary schools and over 50 miners have been awarded government decorations. □

Dinmukhamed Kunayev

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan

Signal successes have been achieved by the miners and iron and steel workers of Eastern and Central Kazakhstan and Kustanai, the machine builders of Alma-Ata, Petropavlovsk and Tselinograd, the tiremakers of Chimkent, the chemical industry workers of Dzhambul, the oil workers of Mangyshlak and the light and food industry workers. All types of communications and transport are developing intensively in the republic, as a result of which—despite the vast distances in Kazakhstan—the notion of "backwoods" is gradually becoming a thing of the past.

None of the previous five-year periods had been so generous in the wheatfields. From Kazakhstan the state has received 81 million tons of grain, or an average of 16 million tons annually. The plan was overfulfilled by 3.7 million tons. This increase alone is almost three times the amount of grain the USSR was receiving from Kazakhstan in the years preceding the virgin lands epic.

Construction in our republic is being conducted in extremely difficult conditions, often in uninhabited, waterless places where there are vast stocks of minerals. Opening up such territories calls for great efforts and resource-

fulness, especially in matters of material and technical supply, transport, designing, the delivery of equipment, and proportionate development of production and social infrastructures.

Regrettably, however, the USSR State Planning Committee, the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply and several Union ministries and departments do not always act in the spirit of today's requirements. In the past five-year plan period the construction projects and collective and state farms of the republic again failed to receive millions of cubic meters of timber, thousands of tons of metal and other materials. All this added to our problems.

The main aim of agriculture today is a sharp rise in all its qualitative indicators, and here it is important to combine the skills and experience of farming workers with a reliable supply of machines—above all, fully power-driven and wide-row machines, spare parts, and complete sets of accessory tools. Because of a shortage of the latter the powerful Korovets tractors, for instance, are often used not to their full capacity.

Large-scale grain production, the acceleration of the development of livestock breeding and the raising of the cultural level of rural and urban life directly depend also on further solution of problems of water supply.

For a radical solution of the problem of water supply in Kazakhstan and Central Asia, to ensure the stable development of their economies in the future, we consider it necessary in the 11th five-year plan period to complete preparatory work for channelling part of the flow of Siberian rivers to Kazakhstan and Central Asia and to make provisions for stabilizing the level of the Aral Sea. Its loss would have a harmful effect on the reclaimed virgin lands and on other vitally important matters, which we have no right to permit. The time has come also to step up construction of the Volga-Ural canal. □

Georgi Markov

First Secretary of the Board of the Union of Soviet Writers

Like the other associations of creative workers, the Union of Soviet Writers has carried out important work to develop its organizations into centers of ideological and professional education of literary workers. But we still face quite a lot of unresolved issues, including the need to achieve greater political maturity and to step up the creative and public activities of every worker in literature, to develop criticism and self-criticism in creative work—in short, to foster an understanding of creative work in a truly party spirit.

It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union is a nation of readers. Editions of books and periodicals run into astronomical figures. This great interest in the printed word testifies to a gigantic advance of culture. At the same time the acute shortage of books, newspapers and magazines, and the limiting of subscriptions which has unfortunately become a regular phenomenon either because of a shortage of paper or because of inadequate printing facilities, will require additional measures so that public demand may be satisfied.

Our ideological opponents are stubbornly trying to halt the spreading of socialist ideas in the world and are seeking to narrow the sphere of influence of Soviet literature and the arts. They have no scruples about the forms and methods they use. The US rulers, for instance, have simply severed almost all cultural ties with the Soviet Union. Matters have reached the point of absurdity: the US State Department prohibited an exhibition of masterpieces from the Leningrad Hermitage in New York! To them even Raphael, Velasquez, Rembrandt and other classics of world art are dangerous only because their works were to have been brought in from the Soviet Union. US ideological and propaganda centers attempt to keep the American people completely away from books by Soviet authors and from Soviet films, which amounts to barring them from the truth about life in the Soviet Union. These restrictions and discriminatory measures only go to prove the weakness of their position.

It is well known that Western secret services have been doing their best to give rise to unhealthy phenomena in our creative sphere in order somehow to shake the moral and political unity of Soviet intelligentsia working in the arts field. But no matter how cunning our enemies have been in their intrigues, no one has yet managed to set the creative forces of the Land of Soviets against their people or to tear them away from the party. □

Valentin Mesyats

USSR Minister of Agriculture

In pursuing its economic strategy the party is paying special attention to agriculture. Much work has been done to reinforce its material and technical base and to step up mechanization, chemicalization and large-scale land improvement, to promote the specialization and concentration of production, inter-farm cooperation and agro-industrial integration.

We must admit that serious shortcomings are still found in the work of collective and state farms and of agricultural agencies. In the last five-year period there was a considerable lag in the production of groats and sunflower

seed. Many farms failed to fulfill plans for sales to the state of meat and milk. Fixed assets and production capacities are often inadequately used.

Agriculture has many problems, but the primary factor in realizing the food program will be the further steady build-up of the production of grain and feed both for collective and state stockraising and for the livestock raised on auxiliary individual plots by the population.

Already this year the collective and state farms intend to review the disposition of land sown to grain, taking specific local conditions into account, and also to raise the yields of and sow more fodder crops, corn, peas, soybeans, rape, lucerne and lupine; to stock more coarse and succulent fodder, and to step up the work of improving natural fodder-growing land and irrigating hay fields and pastures.

In agriculture everything comes from the soil, from its fertility. Thousands of farms in our country regularly harvest three, four or more tons of grain per hectare. There are some, however, which harvest two or three times less. Low yields are a direct consequence of a low standard of farming practices and management, of insufficient efforts to increase land fertility. That is why we should concentrate every effort in the eleventh five-year period on all-round intensification of farming and on increasing land fertility; we should spare no resources and allocate more capital investments to this end.

The agricultural agencies are aware that their main task is to complete the introduction of scientific systems of farming in all zones of the country, to effect the transfer to intensive farming systems, to ensure rational crop rotation at all collective and state farms, to improve the facilities for industrial seed production and for the agrochemical service and to make more effective use of organic and mineral fertilizers.

The new great tasks in agriculture cannot, of course, be accomplished without the active participation and influence of science. Industrial technologies developed by science and tested in practice will be used on a mass scale in the years to come both in crop farming and livestock breeding.

Implementation of the food program will increasingly depend on many industries which must supply the countryside with means of production and material resources. There are still acute problems with the manufacture of the DT-75C caterpillar tractor at the Volgograd tractor works, with the new 150 h.p. universal row-crop tractor, the delivery to the countryside of more K-701-type tractors with the necessary sets of soil-tilling machines and of wide-cut and self-propelled reapers. The introduction of the soil-protection system in crop farming is hindered by the shortage of special anti-erosion equipment. There are also many shortcomings in the mechanization of feed production. Collective and state farms are not receiving enough trucks, specialized vehicles, buses and cars.

In many crop-farming areas mineral fertilizers are in short supply despite

the substantial increase in production and delivery. The shortage of phosphate fertilizers is particularly noticeable. Nearly half the country's grain-sowing farms are still not receiving any fertilizers. In drafting the five-year plan the USSR State Planning Committee, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the Ministry of Fertilizer Production should review the possibilities of tapping additional resources of fertilizers, herbicides and other chemicals for agriculture.

As has already been said by delegates here, there is no doubt that steady growth in agricultural production is most closely linked with improving the living and working conditions of agricultural workers. More capital investments are being allocated for these purposes. On many farms, however, the construction of housing, cultural and service facilities, and especially of roads, is far from satisfactory; as a result in many parts of the country it is increasingly difficult to establish a stable workforce of machine operators, livestock attendants and other specialists. That is why in modernizing the countryside, along with state capital investments, more active use should be made of the funds of farms and of inter-farm amalgamations, of all rural enterprises and agencies. □

Vasily Naumkin

Head furnace man in the blast-furnace shop, the "Lenin" Iron and Steel Works, Magnitogorsk

The traditions of the first five-year plans at our plant are handed down from one generation of workers to another. Were it not for this living continuity, there would not be what is known as men of the "Magnitogorsk mold."

A fine tradition of today is the daily evaluation of the contribution of each worker. We have now adopted this procedure: during shift handover meetings of a team, section or a shift not only are the overall results appraised, but there is also a frank comradely discussion of the contribution everyone has made, whether engineer, foreman or worker. Here everything is in the open and there is no hiding behind other people's backs.

This has put an end to tolerating those who are merely marking time. Instead there is a striving to measure up to the best workers, to show initiative and a creative approach. This fosters pride in one's own work, close comradeship and healthy criticism.

We pay a great deal of attention to the education of young workers in which 2,700 experienced workers take part as tutors.

I myself am such a tutor and I consider it to be a very important party

assignment. My own experience and that of my comrades shows me what the results of instruction are when a senior comrade not only passes on the secrets of his skill but also by his own example instills in his pupil communist conviction, devotion to one's work and a sense of being the masters of production and highly responsible for it.

It is a pleasure to see how broad and varied are the intellectual interests of our steel workers, how great their thirst is for knowledge, culture and art. Today every sixth worker at the plant is a college graduate. The average standard of education of the workforce is almost a full ten-year secondary education. We have made close friends with writers, artists and actors, which is a source of mutual creative inspiration. All this helps our steelworkers to attain ever greater achievements in production.

The Magnitogorsk works has been striving for communism for half a century now. Today it turns out the cheapest pig iron, steel and rolled stock in all the iron and steel industry. But the blast furnaces, coke ovens and rolling mills are aging as the years go by. It is increasingly difficult to raise the quality of metal with obsolete equipment. Renovation is taking place, of course, but is not as it should be. We think that the Magnitogorsk works deserves its modernization to be carried on a really grand, sweeping scale, on a modern scientific and technological basis. We would like the USSR Ministry of the Iron and Steel Industry to take this into account when finally adjusting the assignments of the eleventh five-year plan. If we lose time now it will be harder to catch up later. □

Boris Pastukhov

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League

More than 30 million young workers completed the assignments of the tenth five-year plan ahead of schedule. During the past five years more than 500,000 volunteers joined the workforce at Komsomol priority construction projects. Young Communists and our young people in general have found a school of labor and ideological tempering in the struggle for the oil and gas of Western Siberia and the renovation of the non-black soil zone of Russia, for bumper grain crops in Kazakhstan and for laying difficult stretches of the Baikal-Amur railway line, for high quality and efficiency at every workplace, in studies, in military service and in public activities.

Saber rattling is again being heard in the world, accompanied by threats from the imperialists and their Peking henchmen. They will not frighten our young people. The heirs of those who stormed the Winter Palace, safeguarded the conquests of the October Revolution and brought the Victory Banner to

Berlin consider it their supreme duty to strengthen the might of their homeland and are always ready to stand in its defence.

Komsomol organizations are taking part in raising the efficiency of production and the quality of labor, especially in the leading sectors of the economy, and advancing agriculture.

However, stability of the work force among young men and women on new construction projects is far from satisfactory. Among the principal reasons are shortcomings in educational work and often the absence of possibilities for further education, as well as an acute shortage of housing, children's establishments and cultural and public service facilities. Regrettably, some ministries and economic executives are not taking proper care to organize the labor, daily living and recreational facilities of young builders, and show a consumer approach to the enthusiasm of young people.

In view of the great importance of the accelerated development of productive forces in the new regions—above all, Siberia and the Far East—and of the settling of young people permanently in those lands of rigorous climate, we consider it desirable that special state measures be drawn up ensuring the accelerated development of young cities and of their social infrastructure, taking into account demographic and other specific features. The average age of the population in the regions now being opened up is 22–26 years, and the birth rate there is 50 to 100 per cent higher than the national average. The baby carriage is perhaps the most widespread means of conveyance in these cities. The need for housing, creches and nurseries is growing very rapidly. Young people are ready to take an active part in their construction, working on a voluntary basis in their leisure time. □

Viktor Polyakov

USSR Minister of the Automotive Industry

We are glad to report that production has been brought up to the design capacity at the first phase of the Kama truck plant which was put into operation on the eve of the 25th Party Congress. Our workers have also fulfilled their socialist pledges taken in honor of the 26th Congress, so that the second phase of the Kama plant was put into operation on February 12 with a capacity of up to 150,000 three-axle diesel truck-tractors a year.

When production at the Kama plant reaches its full design capacity the proportion of diesel motor vehicles built in the country will increase from 19 to 30 per cent. A real possibility will then exist for both expanding the volume of trucking and saving fuel.

Truck-building plants, in particular such giants as the Likhachev and Gorky works, have developed new models which have greater carrying

capacity and are more economical.

Diesel truck trains will cut operating maintenance personnel and fuel consumption by 30–50 per cent and will have a great impact both on improving the fuel balance and saving manpower in the national economy, especially in agriculture. They will also greatly help to relieve the load on the railways.

It has been calculated that investments in the development of diesel-truck haulage are roughly twice as effective as investments in expanding oil extraction. We firmly believe that this should be taken into account by the planning agencies when allocating funds for industrial development in the eleventh five-year period.

We also believe that the problem of expanding the use of compressed gas instead of petrol in motor vehicles must be solved without delay and we shall take the necessary steps at automobile plants.

At present most motor vehicles and engines are repaired at small enterprises run by different agencies and the service life of repaired vehicles is much shorter than their original life. The building of large plants for the repair of automotive units on modern technological lines can considerably increase service life and reduce overall expenses. This is an economic reserve of nationwide importance.

To this end the Kama truck builders have already undertaken to repair truck units and supply the truck fleet with spare parts. Their experience over four years has confirmed the expediency of such a practice.

The automotive industry consumes large quantities of metal and other materials. The development of more effective construction designs of greater capacity in the 1970s made it possible to reduce metal consumption per unit by 27 per cent. The industry has designed and is implementing a set of measures for the widespread use of advanced types of rolled metal and plastics. □

Midhat Shakirov

First Secretary, Bashkir Regional Committee of the CPSU

We are all glad to see many foreign delegations at our Congress. Especially impressive is the presence of representatives of young national states and of national liberation movements. What striking evidence this is of changes on the political map of the world!

Solidarity with the nations fighting for freedom, independence and social

progress is natural for Soviet people. To be sure, each nation is taking its own path to the future, and we Soviet Communists are not forcing our views upon anybody. The purpose of our internationalist assistance is to help release nations from the heavy burden of the past, from poverty and backwardness and to help them improve their life as soon as possible.

From the experience of Bashkiria, where industrial output has grown nearly a thousand times compared with the prerevolutionary level, we well know how difficult it is to overcome age-old backwardness within a very short period in history and to build up a modern industry and culture.

Like all Soviet people, the working people of Bashkiria are sparing no effort to raise the efficiency of social production, speed scientific and technological progress and in every way improve the quality of work.

All the main assignments of the tenth five-year plan have been fulfilled. There has never been a five-year period in the history of our republic when so much was done as in these few years. Suffice it to say that industrial output has increased by 35 per cent.

The construction of new and the modernization of existing enterprises has stepped up the development of key industries which set the pace for technological progress—engineering, which has nearly doubled production, and the petrochemical and chemical industries. The volume of goods with a quality mark has grown nearly fivefold.

We have never done as much as we are doing now to raise the living standards of the population. Over 540,000 people have improved their housing conditions. A large number of social, cultural and service facilities have been built. The volume of retail trade and services has increased.

Surveying the path our republic has traversed in the Soviet period we see in it over and over again a striking evidence of the vital force of the Leninist friendship of nations. □

Eduard Shevardnadze

First Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Georgia

The Communist Party of Georgia has good results to report to the Congress. The rate of growth of industrial output was 41 per cent and that of agricultural production 34 per cent; the five-year program of building and assembly work was fulfilled by November 7 last year. The proportion of goods bearing the quality mark exceeded 21 per cent.

But life is posing new problems.

First. The development of the power complex lags behind the rates of growth of the national economy of the republic. There is no escaping the need to construct a base power station. The problem does not become less acute because its solution is postponed.

Second. Both traditional and new kinds of transport are developing in the republic. With the help of the USSR State Planning Committee, for the first time in world practice a large-diameter pneumo-container transport line has been put into operation. Cableways and monorail roads are being built. But in the future the carrying capacity of the main roads linking our region with centers of the USSR will act as a brake on economic development. The way out is to take a decision on building a railway line through the Caucasus, which will shorten rail travel between Moscow and Tbilisi by 950 km.

Third. There is a definite disproportion between the output of agricultural products and the processing facilities. Since 1972 the production of tea, grapes and citrus and other fruit in the republic has grown by almost 150 per cent, while the capacities of the food industry by only 50 per cent.

Fourth. As regards organization at the district level. Elements have emerged there of a definite disproportion between the development of the productive forces and some forms of management and planning at the regional level.

Today a district is a highly complex mechanism. Many rural districts are turning out 200–250 million rubles' worth of industrial products each, but the organization at district level remains the same as 25 years ago. The secretary of a district party committee sometimes has a hard time coping with the work. There are many problems, but the management resources are limited.

Some of our districts have on a cooperative basis set up a powerful center for managing the agro-industrial complex. The results have exceeded all expectations. Now we intend to introduce this system throughout the republic. There is evidently a need for bold experiments in planning, managing and coordinating production at a district and regional level.

The cooperation that has been organized in our republic between the publicly-owned farms and the individual subsidiary husbandries made it possible to purchase almost three million tons of grapes and citrus fruit and about 300,000 tons of meat from the population in the 10th five-year plan period. And this is only one aspect of the possibilities of organization at the district level.

In recent years we have tackled in earnest the study of public opinion. Leonid Brezhnev called for this at the 25th Party Congress. Analysis shows that we are succeeding in fostering an active attitude to life in people, who protest most fiercely against survivals of the past which run counter to socialism, against manifestations of injustice or lack of objectivity, no matter how insignificant and seemingly harmless these may be. They protest

regardless of who is guilty of such injustice or lack of objectivity, be it a high-ranking official or any other citizen, and regardless of where this happens, be it in the sphere of production or distribution, promotion, the judiciary or summing up the results of emulation and even a sports competition. It makes no difference whether this concerns assessing the knowledge of a college applicant, the various kinds of public service or the settlement of common quarrels between neighbors. □

Alexander Shibayev

Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions

The experience of socialist and communist construction graphically shows the tremendous vitality of Lenin's conception of trade unions.

Ideological opponents of socialism continue to try to attack the most important principle of building up the trade unions in a socialist society, namely recognition of the Communist Party's leading role. These people ignore the historical fact that socialism radically changes the status of the working class in the system of public production and makes working people the true masters of their country. The Communist Party does everything possible to enhance the role of trade unions in the life of our society so as to increase their influence in solving various problems that concern working people. In conformity with the USSR Constitution and other Soviet laws, the trade unions have broad rights to perform their many functions in the spheres of production; labor relations, everyday life and the rest and recreation of working people.

Trade union committees and councils, together with state and economic bodies and the Young Communist League, under the leadership of party organizations, have carried out a range of practical measures to further develop socialist emulation aimed at improving production effectiveness and the quality of work in all fields and orienting it towards achieving concrete economic and social results. Today socialist emulation has become a truly mass, nationwide movement. The patriotic aspirations of millions of working people found practical expression in the pre-Congress emulation campaign, launched under the motto "26 weeks of shockwork dedicated to the 26th CPSU Congress." As a result over 20 million fulfilled the tenth five-year period assignments and those of 1980 ahead of schedule.

At the same time we are fully aware that some trade union agencies and economic bodies do not always utilize the tremendous opportunities latent in socialist emulation and do not pay proper attention to improving methods of

moral and material incentives, to spreading advanced experience and initiatives.

At a number of enterprises there are cases of disruption of the production cycle and established rules of work and rest because of poor planning, irregularity in the supply of raw material and equipment and shortcomings in the organization of production and labor. The trade unions fully support the proposals outlined in the report of Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Tikhonov for making our plans more realistic and scientifically grounded, and for strengthening discipline and increasing efficiency in all branches of the economy.

Through workers' meetings, permanent production conferences and collective agreements the trade unions involve the mass of the working people in active and direct participation in making decisions on all questions relating to the life and activities of work collectives. In the tenth five-year period participants in permanent production conferences made over 7,500,000 proposals directed at raising the efficiency and quality of work, of which 83 per cent have been implemented. However, workers' proposals and demands, reflected in collective agreements, do not always meet with due attention. This is partly due to inefficient work of trade unions, which should intensify control of the solution of problems relating to the work, life and living conditions of people, and pay greater attention to the enhancement of democratic principles in production relations.

Many valuable suggestions and critical remarks were made by Soviet people during the nationwide discussion of the draft Guidelines. They were largely aimed at improving the protection of labor, cultural and living conditions, and at mechanizing manual labor. Resolving these tasks will help create stable work collectives and raise productivity.

The trade unions are paying great attention to all these problems. In the tenth five-year period the labor conditions of 20 million, including seven million women, were improved. Industrial accidents decreased by 24 per cent and the sickness rate by 23 per cent.

The trade unions are doing a great deal to organize the construction and improvement of health centers, sanatoria, tourist camps and other facilities for rest and leisure.

Now, when twelve million collective farmers have become trade union members, an organizational basis has arisen for trade union activity designed to improve the labor and living conditions of collective farmers and raise agricultural production. □

Alexandra Smirnova

Teacher, Efinskaya Secondary School, Kostroma region

During the tenth five-year plan period practically half those graduating from country schools in the region started working on the land. The total number of young people at collective and state farms and other agricultural enterprises increased by 50 per cent in the same period. Dozens of them are now run by young people. Our collective farm, "The Dawn of Communism," is no exception. Half its machine operators and other specialists are young people, most of whom graduated from our school. Yesterday's schoolchildren are today acknowledged masters of their trades.

The growing willingness of young people to remain in the countryside and work there is largely due to the welcome changes taking place as a result of the consistent implementation of the party's agrarian policy and the non-black earth zone development program.

During the tenth five-year plan period the material and technical base for agriculture in the Kostroma region has become much stronger. Dozens of modern production complexes have been built. This has led to a significant improvement in working conditions and has increased labor productivity. Serious attention is being paid to solving social problems. During the five-year plan period a total of 600,000 square meters of housing, 120 youth hostels, dozens of clubs and houses of culture, schools and preschool facilities were built in rural areas. Over a thousand kilometers of good roads were built in the region. Everyday services to the population have markedly improved. The cultural life of country dwellers became richer and more interesting. They have regular meetings with writers, artists and actors.

Our schools, preschool and adult education institutions need staff with a wide range of knowledge. So we must improve the training of teaching staff to meet modern requirements and match the latest achievements of pedagogical theory and practice. Rural teachers should be qualified in many subjects since it is unrealistic to staff schools which have few pupils with specialists in every subject. There are many schools like this in the countryside.

There is another widely known problem the solution of which is still slow in coming. Schools lack men teachers, which noticeably affects the upbringing of children, particularly boys.

It would help to enrich creative activity, raise the authority of schools and teachers if there were good books, films, plays, radio and TV programs that would show the life of Soviet schools, the fine work teachers are doing, the creative atmosphere in which the new person is being educated. □

Anatoly Surovtsev

Leader of an integrated team, Main Department of Housing and Civil Construction, Moscow

With every passing year our capital city acquires beautiful new features. Big new housing estates have been built in the tenth five-year period. Hundreds of thousands of Muscovites have moved to new well-appointed and comfortable flats. Construction workers did a great deal to help ensure the success of the Moscow Olympics, building many unique sports facilities, hotels and other projects in an extremely short period of time. All these were erected in keeping with the master plan for Moscow's development and are now serving city residents and visitors well.

Our team was one of the first in Moscow to start building houses by a new method. We fulfilled our assignments for the tenth five-year period in four years and put up eight 16-story houses above plan requirements.

Responsibility for the quality of the work done has risen considerably in our team. The workers are now more demanding of each other and of themselves. I may proudly say that my comrades are working conscientiously. Our work itself has become much better organized and this is a source of satisfaction and joy. Our team is no exception; there are many like it at Moscow construction sites.

I think the effectiveness of continuous two- and three-year planning must be sharply raised in order to improve coordination of all the links in the construction process—the designers and builders, motor transport workers and customers.

We are now assembling buildings at high speed, as if on a factory assembly line. But the finishing workers who come after us are performing many operations by hand. There is still an acute shortage of power tools. We would like to ask the leading officials of the Ministry for Construction, Road-Building and Utility Engineering to solve this problem as soon as possible.

While drawing attention to the problems of capital construction we are well aware that among builders the degree of discipline and conscientiousness is still insufficient. Much time is wasted at construction sites because of shirking on the part of some workers.

We believe that every party organization, every party group should further improve educational work and enhance the responsibility borne by all participants in construction for the final results of our work. □

Lidia Tikhomirova

Manager, Kalinin Knitwear Production Association

In our knitwear association the output of goods has grown by 120 per cent while the workforce has decreased. Labor productivity and profit have risen by 150 per cent. The range and quality of goods have considerably increased. Credit for this goes to all the workers, above all to the Communists of our amalgamation.

The workers of our amalgamation now face even more demanding tasks. We must sharply increase the output of goods in great demand by the population, and improve their quality and range. In conditions of an acute labor shortage at the factories in our region these problems should be solved above all by further raising the technological level of production.

The workers of the knitted-goods industry expect greater attention from the Ministry of the Chemical Industry. We receive very little textured thread for outer knitwear and not enough viscose and profiled capron thread and quality dyes.

The suppliers of basic goods and materials frequently change because of lack of precision in the work of some ministries and departments. This bad practice leads to the disruption of cooperative deliveries.

At present, knitwear mills have too little advanced equipment. We need new machines employing more modern techniques, such as knitting a specified shape without waste, equipment for printed designs, and so on.

The technological aspects of these matters have been solved. We hope that our designers and engineers will soon organize the manufacture of machinery and machine tools and mechanization facilities that will not only make work easier and raise labor productivity but also help solve the vital problem of the fuller and more rational utilization of raw materials. □

Turdakun Usubaliyev

First Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Kirghizia

Our rich natural resources are being intensively developed. The Toktogul hydroelectric station, built on the mountain river Naryn, which the people call the River of Friendship, has attained its rated capacity of 1,200,000 kilowatts. The water reservoir of 19 billion cubic meters, which forms part of this hydroengineering complex, has virtually

solved the problem of irrigating the Fergana Valley. The 800,000-kilowatt Kurpsai hydropower station is being built at an accelerated rate on the same river.

Surveys have shown that 16 more hydropower stations can be built on the river Naryn, four of which will be constructed in the next ten years. Eventually the Naryn chain of power stations will generate up to 30 billion kWh a year of the cheapest electricity in the country. The USSR State Planning Committee and the USSR Ministry of Power Engineering should ensure the continuity of hydroelectric construction on the Naryn in order to keep together the many-thousand-strong workers' contingent that has been formed there, and to maintain high rates of construction.

A recent decision of the Party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers mapped out extensive measures for the further promotion of sheep-breeding in Kirghizia. In ten years we will be producing about 1,700,000 tons of mutton, or a half million tons more than in the past ten years, and the output of fine and semi-fine wool will reach 470,000 tons, or 80,000 tons more than previously. Other branches of animal husbandry will also grow.

To attain these targets we will have substantially to increase livestock productivity, to expand our fodder-producing capacity, mainly by reclaiming irrigable lands of which we have over one million hectares, and also by the better use of hay fields and remote pastures. The republic has been allotted the necessary funds and material resources for this purpose.

Our class enemies are eager to undermine the unity and cohesion of the Soviet peoples and to belittle the mounting international prestige of the Soviet state. But the efforts of anti-Communist ideologists are in vain. Soviet people resolutely reject all the slanderous inventions of the imperialist circles about the Afghan revolution and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union's decision to render assistance to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was dictated by considerations of internationalist solidarity and the united will of the entire Soviet people, of all the nations and nationalities of our country. □

Carl Vaino

First Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Estonia

A keynote of all the discussions of the draft Guidelines expressed in letters and proposals was that it is the patriotic duty of the working people of the republic to make better use of the production potential that has been created, to increase their contribution to strengthening the

country's economy.

The republican party organization is doing a great deal of work to ensure effective utilization of the local raw material, combustible shale. Our powerful chemical-fuel-power complex is operating successfully. Last year our miners achieved a record output of 31 million tons of shale, and our electric power stations generated 19 billion kilowatt-hours of cheap electricity.

We have unresolved problems too. To conduct farming intensively the republic must exert great efforts to improve the land, which is not very fertile and very stony. In the past 15 years about seven million cubic meters of stones have been removed from fields. This amount would be sufficient for the ancient Egyptians to build several large pyramids. But pyramids took centuries to build, while we remove stones before every spring plowing. Every year 10 to 12 per cent of the workers in agriculture have to be diverted to this arduous manual work. Large stones are bulldozed into heaps in the center of the fields and these "pyramids" are rising throughout our republic, occupying a great deal of farmland. We urgently need machinery for crushing and removing stones, to help overcome this obstacle to increasing crop yields.

By virtue of its geographical position Estonia is in the front line of the ideological struggle and in an area of very great density of fire of anti-Soviet propaganda. Of late the subversive activities of our ideological adversaries have assumed a particularly fierce and vicious character, and have become more insidious and sophisticated. You cannot call this anything else but psychological war.

Bourgeois propaganda centers are going out of their way to sow strife among the socialist nations, to incite jingoism, to foster indifference to politics and philistine complacency.

In our ideological work we take account of all these special features. Measures have been taken to make the mass propaganda work more militant and active, and to strengthen its ties with life. Events are covered more promptly and deeply by the republican radio and TV services.

The working people have widely welcomed and highly appreciated forms of contact between the heads of party, government and economic organizations and the general public and of giving the general public wide-ranging, political information, such as the holding of a Political Education Day, which on each occasion involves more than half the working people. Editorial boards of republican newspapers also hold on-the-spot discussions of people's letters and suggestions. International and patriotic education and strengthening the friendship among peoples has begun to be conducted more actively and extensively in work collectives. □

9

LEONID BREZHNEV

Speech at the Closing of the Congress

In this hall we worked intensively for eight days. We summed up what was achieved during the past period, shared our joys and disappointments, and together mapped out plans for the future.

We had yet another opportunity to assess the full dimensions and, at the same time, the entire complexity of the tasks facing the party and the country.

We intend to concentrate all our efforts on two interrelated directions. One is communist construction and the other—the consolidation of peace. This was the mandate of the communists, of the entire people to the delegates to party conferences. This mandate has now been translated into the language of party decisions.

Today we see better and more than we did yesterday. We know what we are doing well and where there are difficulties. The picture of the country's successful development and the intricate workings of international politics were seen at the Congress in their totality and all their facets.

Fundamental and, at the same time, specific guidelines for the future have been endorsed by the Congress. Now all efforts are to be centered on implementing them. Upon returning to their party organizations, the delegates to the Congress will have to join in the immense effort to transform the Congress decisions into practical deeds. Above all, I mean ensuring the absolute fulfillment of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan.

What is needed for this? First and foremost, a high sense of responsibility and firm, really Communist, conscious discipline. To a similar extent, of course, there must be imagination, a tireless quest for the new, and support for this new. There must be constant initiative everywhere and in everything. We are confident that the constructive impulse given by the Congress will enrich the work of every collective, of every district, region, and republic, of the country as a whole.

The thousands of reports of the labor achievements of Soviet people dedicated to the 26th Congress of the CPSU were a magnificent salute in honor of this Congress of the Party of Lenin and a great encouragement for its work. Workers of factories and power stations, tillers of the soil, livestock-breeders, builders, transport workers, and men and women of science and culture thrilled the nation with new achievements. On behalf of all the delegates I should like to address words of gratitude to the participants in the

pre-Congress emulation movement for their patriotism, for this splendid display of unity of thought, aims, and action of the party and the entire people.

This is eloquently noted also in the hundreds of thousands of letters from organizations, work collectives, and individual citizens, wishing the Congress success in its work. I think you will all support me if I extend heartfelt thanks to the writers of these letters.

Soviet people know that the party's motto is "All for the good of the Soviet man, all in the name of man." They know this and for that reason wholeheartedly support the party's policies. But we also know that nothing comes easily. Any improvement of the living standard can be achieved only by hard work on the part of the Soviet people themselves. Mature socialism provides the broadest opportunities imaginable for the full unfolding of the abilities of every citizen. The thing is to use these opportunities. There is nothing that free and conscious work for oneself and for one's society cannot accomplish.

I believe that we can be quite confident that the plans charted by the Congress will be not only fulfilled but overfulfilled.

The 26th Congress has shown again that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a powerful, sound, and mature organization. The communists are the truly unbendable pivot of our society, its heart and soul. They are the true revolutionary vanguard of the people.

We know perfectly well from past and present experience that the role of society's leading force does not come by itself. It is earned and won in continuous, unceasing struggle for the interests of the working people. And to consolidate that role the party is constantly tightening its bonds with the mass of the people, devoting itself to their needs and concerns.

Unity with the people is the strength of the party!

Unity with the party, its leadership, are the strength of the people!

Comrades, the entire course of our Congress, all the documents it has adopted, have again shown that safeguarding peace is, as it has always been, our main concern in world affairs, the chief goal of our country's foreign policy.

Our foreign policy program is a program of continuing and deepening detente, a program of stopping the arms race.

Our party has again proved that the Soviet people have not only the wish but also the political will to do everything in their power in the name of peace, lasting and stable peace. We have not only the will to struggle for peace, but also a precise and clear program for this struggle.

Comrades, attending this Congress is the largest number of delegations from communist, workers' and other revolutionary parties in the history of the CPSU. The speeches of our comrades-in-arms here at the Congress and at

meetings in Moscow and other cities give us still greater faith that social progress cannot be halted, and that the revolutionary transformation of the world cannot be prevented.

We are deeply grateful for all the kind words spoken here about our party, our country. You may rest assured, comrades, that the Soviet Communists, faithful to the behests of Lenin, will continue unwaveringly along the tested internationalist course of our party.

The thought that unity is essential in the name of peace and the progress of mankind ran through all the speeches of our comrades from abroad. In our time these two concepts are indivisibly linked. Peace is the decisive factor of progress in any sphere of human endeavor. And we are convinced—if communists, if revolutionaries and all sound and sensible forces become fully conscious of their responsibility and act in unison, then the plans of the opponents of peace are sure to be frustrated.

Comrades, ever since the time the great Lenin founded our party it has staunchly followed the path he charted for the building of socialism and communism.

How many times since have we heard predictions of our inevitable failure. How many times have attempts been made to force us to give up our goals. How many times have our opponents tried to prevail on us that we were mistaken, that our path was wrong. . .

But what has come of it? Most of the people who did so are long since forgotten. But socialism is alive, and is developing. It is advancing steadily. And it is not that we simply believe, we know beyond a doubt: our supreme goal, too, will be reached, communist society will be built!

We are sure of this because we have faith in the sacred truth of our ideals. We are sure of this because we are aware of the inexhaustible powers of our people. We are sure of this because we know that our party's Marxist-Leninist course is correct.

So let us go boldly forward along the road leading to communism!

May the indestructible unity of the Communist Party and the Soviet people go from strength to strength!

May the unity of the socialist community, of all the revolutionary forces on Earth go from strength to strength!

Glory to our Leninist Party!

Long live the great Soviet people!

Long live peace!

Long live Communism!

On this note, let me declare the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union closed.



PART THREE: *From Around the World*

10

The Foreign Delegations

In this section, we present excerpts from some of the speeches by visiting delegations from around the world. While space limitations preclude presentation of all the foreign contributions, the selection here should give a good picture of the enormous range and diversity of the international ties of the CPSU, as reflected at the 26th Congress. The speeches are organized by regions of the world, and alphabetically within regions by countries, as listed below.

The United States Delegation

GUS HALL, Communist Party, USA
HENRY WINSTON, Communist Party, USA

Africa

Algeria: MOHAMED SAIO MAZOUZI, Algerian National Liberation Front
Angola: JOSÉ EDUARDO DOS SANTOS, President
Ethiopia: MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM, Chairman, Provisional Military Administrative Council
Mozambique: MARCELINO DOS SANTOS, FRELIMO
Namibia: SAM NUJOMA, SWAPO
South Africa: MOSES MABHIDA, Communist Party of South Africa; ALFRED NZO, African National Congress

America, North and South

Canada: WILLIAM KASHTAN, Communist Party of Canada
Chile: LUIS CORVALAN, Communist Party of Chile
Cuba: FIDEL CASTRO RUZ, President, Council of State and Council of Ministers
Jamaica: DUDLEY THOMPSON, People's National Party
Nicaragua: CARLOS NUNOS TELLEZ, Chairman, Council of State

Asia

Afghanistan: BABRAK KARMAL, Chairman, Revolutionary Council
Kampuchea: PEN SOVAN, Vice-President, People's Revolutionary Council

Sri Lanka: K. P. SILVA, Communist Party of Sri Lanka
Viet Nam: LE DUAN, Communist Party of Viet Nam

Europe, East and West

France: GASTON PLISSONIER, French Communist Party

German Democratic Republic: ERICH HONECKER, Chairman, Council of State

Greece: HARILAOS FLORAKIS, Communist Party of Greece

Hungary: JANOS KADAR, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

Italy: GIANCARLO PAIETTA, Italian Communist Party

Poland: STANISLAW KANIA, Polish United Workers' Party

Romania: NICOLAE CEAUSESCU, President

The Middle East

Egypt: KHALED MOHIEDDIN, National Progressive Unionist Party

Iraq: AZIZ MOHAMMED, Iraqi Communist Party

Israel: MEIR VILNER, Communist Party of Israel

Syria: ABDULLA AL-AHMAR, Arab Socialist Renaissance Party;

KHALED BAGDASH, Communist Party of Syria

World Peace Council

ROMESH CHANDRA, President, World Peace Council

The United States Delegation

Gus Hall

General Secretary, Communist Party, USA

Each Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a unique milestone, a history-making event of tremendous world significance. It is, therefore, a great privilege, indeed an honor, to be part of such a Congress.

Comrade Brezhnev's penetrating and inspiring report is a model of Marxist-Leninist thought. The projections are bold but firmly rooted in both the realities of international developments and in the next steps in the construction of existing advanced socialism. It correctly signals the new dangers and the sense of needed urgency. But it is also imbued with a calm, well-placed confidence in the present, and in the future for all fighters for

human progress. It is a compass, a charter for the 1980s in the struggle for peace and detente. It is infused with the spirit of anti-imperialism and proletarian internationalism.

You, the Soviet people, and the Communist Party can forever be proud of your legacy of peace, your history-making contributions in the struggle for peace and detente. Yours is an unmatched gift to humanity—namely, saving the world from war and nuclear holocaust.

Without your unrelenting, unwavering heroic commitment to maintaining peace, our planet might today be a lifeless mass of nuclear ash. Yes, socialism is indeed the savior of humanity.

While on the opposite side of the main class contradiction, on the other side of the Atlantic, the fires under the cauldron of world imperialism are being stoked by the predatory profiteering warlords.

In the warped minds of some representatives of US imperialism, what is worse than nuclear war is the successful construction of real socialism, the continuing victories of national liberation, and the advances in the working-class struggles throughout the world.

The well-funded bourgeois ideological stables of state-monopoly capitalism are fully staffed with highly trained Big-Lie brainwashers who work ceaselessly to attribute to the countries of socialism, national liberation and to the working class a mirror-image of its own corporate criminal immorality and inhumanity.

In their efforts to pervert the truth, the new code word to cover up policies of US imperialist aggression is the phony charge of "international terrorism."

In the code book of the Reagan Administration all struggles for national liberation, for socialism and the people's movements and struggles against imperialism and reactionary fascist dictatorships are labeled "international terrorism." The Soviet policies of peace and detente are turned into a "Soviet threat of war." There is no limit to the Big Lie.

In the world of the Big Lie, the Pol Pot mass murderers are supported and coddled as democrats, not as terrorists.

The US-supported and financed fascist goon squads, responsible for murder, torture and terror in Chile, Haiti, Uruguay, Paraguay, Namibia and Guatemala are not terrorists. The US-supported gangsters behind the junta that killed 11,000 people in 12 months in El Salvador are not terrorists. The assassins stalking Fidel Castro are not considered terrorists.

In the Big Lie code book the US-China trained, armed and led terror gangs of arson and murder crossing into Afghanistan from Pakistan are not terrorists.

A class that condones and perpetuates the most extreme racism against Afro-Americans at home and in its policies abroad, falsely accuses others of racism.

The over 2,000 US overseas military bases are the military arm of imperialist hegemony. The 50-ship armada in the Persian Gulf is to secure US hegemony over the Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean region. The US 7th Fleet is propping up US hegemony in the Mediterranean region.

In essence, the Camp David agreements are support for US hegemony in the Middle East.

The proposed transfer of the 110,000-strong rapid deployment force to NATO is a brazen attempt to draw the NATO countries into direct support of US hegemonic designs the world over.

The leading Maoist elements in the People's Republic of China have their own hegemonic designs, but the super-US hegemonic drive includes hegemony over the US-China arms deals, a CIA hegemony over the joint US-Chinese intelligence operations, the hegemony of US banks over trade and financial institutions. And there is the already existing subservience of the thoughts of Mao Tse Tung to the ideological hegemony of US imperialism.

Almost simultaneously, the world is being presented with a most dramatic display of two Congresses, representing two socioeconomic systems moving in the opposite direction.

Your Congress here is completely occupied with and immersed in questions of building a better life for all the people in a world of peace and detente.

The Congress of the United States was presented proposals for deep cuts in funds for social services, education, housing, health, old age and unemployment benefits, while increasing funds for the monopoly corporations and the Pentagon.

In the attempt by US state-monopoly capitalism to resolve the new level of its general crisis there is a new offensive against the US working class and people.

The announced policies signal new dangers and new problems. But it is necessary to always keep in mind that the warlike posturing, the projected cuts in the standard of living, have not yet been tested against the sharp contradictions of objective reality. The Reagan Administration will soon find out that dealing with the contradictions, the balance of forces domestically and in the world is not that simple.

Many of the statements of the new Washington gang are wishful thinking, based on the old myths of relationships, based on past US positions of power and domination which have long since been transformed into their opposites. The old myths are in sharp conflict with the new realities.

We are now already seeing the initial stages of a backlash, a fightback movement by the US people, especially by the working class and Afro-Americans, and a boomerang effect from around the world.

Viewing world developments from the center of world imperialism, it is our firm conviction that the historic objective developments are setting the stage for qualitatively new advances in all sectors of the world revolutionary process because the basic patterns, trends and processes of history are not reversed by momentary difficulties.

It is an honor for me to convey to you the warm, comradely, revolutionary greetings of our party, our delegation, our Chairman, Comrade Henry Winston, and the progressive, peace-loving forces of the US working class and people.

May the relations between our two great peoples grow in friendship and peace.

May the relationship between our two great parties remain strong and fruitful.

We are confident that the deliberations and decisions of this landmark 26th Congress will translate into ever greater advances in all areas of life for the Soviet people. □

Henry Winston

Chairman, Communist Party, USA

Permit me in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States to express our everlasting happiness in receiving the invitation to send a fraternal delegation to the 26th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This congress of some 5,000 delegates is discussing and finding solutions to problems never before undertaken by anyone else. This congress is without a doubt one of the greatest, most significant developments in all history. The report of Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev not only records past and present socialist accomplishments, but, as put by our General Secretary Gus Hall, "It is a compass, a charter for the 1980s in the struggle for peace and detente."

The heartbeat of Gus Hall, James Jackson, Sam Webb and myself is in unison with the peace majority in the US and with that of 265 million Soviet people whose dreams have been beautifully expressed by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev: "If there is peace, the creative energy of the peoples backed by the achievements of science and technology is certain to solve the problems that are now troubling people."

Our delegation understands well that his announced policy is the everyday practice of the Soviet people. The cause of peace and detente, national liberation and socialism has no better defender than that of the CPSU and its

Leninist Central Committee, led by Leonid Brezhnev.

Let me in the name of the Central Committee of the CPUSA and our party express to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia and, through you, to the people of Minsk and all of Byelorussia, our warmest and fraternal revolutionary greetings.

I was last in Minsk some years ago and was able to see a city rebuilt from the ashes resulting from the barbarity wreaked on this city by Hitler fascism. Some 80 percent of this city was literally destroyed, including tens of thousands who fell in the battles defending, inch by inch, the land they loved so dearly. The losses of property were valued in billions of rubles. The courage and heroism of men, women and children, soldiers and partisans were typical and characteristic of what occurred all over the Soviet Union.

The reconstruction which followed the heinous crimes of Hitler's armies was but another chapter of noble accomplishments. Therefore, you can well understand my joy in having the opportunity of being in this hero city, and in having the opportunity to talk with citizens of Minsk and witness the splendid achievements in fulfilling and overfulfilling five-year plans.

The exemplary oneness, in the relations of Byelorussia with the Russian Federation and the other 13 union republics, is a most beautiful and inspiring lesson in the practice of equal human relations between peoples which daily makes possible new successes.

The whole of mankind, given the example of the people of Byelorussia, and all the Soviet people, will learn this important lesson.

The genius of Lenin at the head of the Bolshevik Party in 1917 was able to apply Marxism to the imperialist era in a way that led to proletarian revolution and working class power. This is the explanation for such victories.

In the USA the American revolution of 1776 was the first democratic revolution in the history of the world. Lenin took note of this fact. That event was without question progressive. It was quite an advance over the feudalism then existing in Europe, but it was a bourgeois-democratic revolution. The 1776 revolution brought capitalism forward, and under capitalism there was exploitation, and there was oppression. Black people became and remained chattel. This particular form of oppression was in correspondence with capitalist exploitation. So long as this condition obtained, there could be no basic democratic reforms.

The struggle of Black people has been continuous for the last 116 years. The gains made in the 116-year old battle now face the sharpest racist offensive.

The ultra-right directs its attack against democracy as a whole, but its cutting edge is aimed in the first place against Black people. The form of this

offensive is all-sided: two Black youth are found dead with their hearts cut out by Nazi and Ku Klux Klan elements. Eighteen Black children in the city of Atlanta are murdered by racist elements.

Five demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina, are shot down in cold blood. We witness the burning of homes of Black people to prevent them from living in "white communities." Black people are first to be fired and last to be hired, and the joblessness of Black youth is twice that of white.

Gains won in the civil rights struggle, such as the 1965 Civil Rights Act, are threatened by a gang of ultra-right and anti-democratic white supremacist elements in the Senate. The list is long, and this is happening in the richest capitalist country in the world. This is happening in the land which Reagan and all the ultra-right apologists of nuclear war call the "free world."

State-monopoly capitalism is placing new burdens upon the people. For example, double-digit inflation, higher prices, increasing unemployment, wage cuts, racism, cessation of housing construction, increases in rents, deterioration of all social services, hospitals, education, transportation, etc. All of this to create additional billions for the billionaires and a bigger military budget.

This criminality lowers the conditions of some 30 million Black people who are already at the bottom rung of the economic, political and social order.

The struggle of Black people for equality is integrally related to the fight for peace. This is the path for serving the true national interests of the people of the US and the best interests of all lovers of peace throughout the world. This is the way to guarantee that tens of billions of dollars now in the military budget shall be made available to serve the cause of social progress.

US imperialism will not succeed in weakening the three main revolutionary currents. Greater unity of these currents will be able to defeat the imperialist effort to engulf the peoples in thermonuclear war.

Long live the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States.

Long live the fraternal friendship between the CPUSA and the CPSU. □

Long live Marxism-Leninism.

*Africa**Algeria***Mohamed Said Mazouzi**

Member, Political Bureau, Algerian National Liberation Front

The Algerian people closely follow the achievements and victories the Soviet people have won under the leadership of the party of great Lenin and of Comrade Brezhnev. The Soviet peoples have made great progress in the economic, social, cultural and educational fields, thereby placing themselves in the vanguard of human progress.

Through the long struggles of the Algerian people we have come to realize the profound significance of your great revolution. In fierce fighting against French colonialists the Algerian people, under the guidance of the NLF, arms in hand, accomplished their liberation revolution. Our struggle led to the defeat of the invaders, who had the broad backing of NATO, and to Algeria's winning complete independence. Gaining political independence was but a stage, though the most important one, in Algeria's long and hard struggle for a prosperous, progressive and modern socialist society. This was necessary in order to secure our political independence for all time.

The beginning of Algerian-Soviet cooperation goes back to the time of the liberation war of the Algerian people for their independence. At that time the Soviet Union, socialist countries and fraternal friendly states rendered us considerable support in our heroic struggle against the French invaders. The Algerian people will never forget the important assistance they received in the days of their ordeal. Algerian-Soviet cooperation assumed a special character after Algeria gained her independence. After that, exchange of visits and consultations between the CPSU and the National Liberation Front, various public organizations and the governments of the two countries became a firm tradition. The results of cooperation are evident. The Soviet Union is participating in training our scientific and technical personnel, in implementing a number of economic, social and scientific projects and in our extensive activities in the field of health protection.

May this fruitful and sincere cooperation, which is becoming a characteristic feature of relations between our countries and peoples, further strengthen and deepen! We firmly believe in this cooperation and are striving to develop it, to consolidate friendship between our parties and peoples and to make our

common struggle for peace and detente more effective. We wish detente to meet the interests of all peoples and help the nations still suffering from colonialism to win self-determination and to oppose imperialism, which is still attempting to impose its domination on the world, in order to preserve unjust regimes and inequality in international relations. □

*Angola***José Eduardo Dos Santos**

Chairman, MPLA—Party of Labor; President, People's Republic of Angola

The MPLA—Party of Labor and the entire Angolan people highly value the solidarity of Soviet people. During the 15 years of liberation struggle and five years of work in rebuilding the country we have constantly received support and assistance from the country of Lenin. Our people are proud of the bonds of friendship and cooperation that exist between Angola and the Soviet Union. From this lofty rostrum we wish to express our profound gratitude to the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

International imperialism and the South African racists cannot forgive the Angolan people for choosing the socialist road of development. Our socialist choice, our loyalty to proletarian internationalism, which is expressed in our giving what support we can to the oppressed peoples of the world, in particular, to the peoples of Africa, was the cause of the undeclared war on the part of the Republic of South Africa, which began as soon as Angola won independence. Every day South African troops are violating our borders, demolishing non-military facilities, killing thousands of peaceful Angolans, destroying material values created by the persistent work of our people. The South African military are training and arming mercenaries, who are then sent into Angola.

But the Angolan revolution is continuing. Our people are marching along the road of building socialism. We are inspired by the fact that, as before, we are not alone. We can firmly count on the support of socialist countries, of all peaceloving and progressive forces.

Allow me specially to emphasize the significance of the valiant Cuban internationalists who joined combat shoulder to shoulder with MPLA fighters, without sparing their lives, to help Angola defend its independence and begin the construction of a new society. From this high rostrum I wish to

voice our profound feelings of friendship, solidarity and gratitude to the Communist Party of Cuba and all Cuban people headed by our dear Comrade Fidel Castro.

We have scored major successes despite the barbarous actions of the South African racists. The approval by the First Special Congress of our party in 1980 of the general line in the field of the country's social and economic development up to 1985 and then until 1990, the establishment of the People's Assembly and of provincial bodies of people's government—all this testifies to the fact that a new Angola is rising from ruins, Angola which is resolutely taking the road of socialist development so as to form a strong link in the world socialist system. Working in the specific conditions of Angola our party is gradually affirming itself as a Marxist-Leninist party.

Dear comrades, the work of the 26th CPSU Congress confirms that your party is the best cemented and most experienced party, advancing to new victories in the interests of the Soviet people and all mankind and confidently building the material and technical basis of communism. On behalf of the MPLA—Party of Labor I wish you fresh and greater successes. □

Ethiopia

Mengistu Haile Mariam

Chairman, Commission to Organize the Party of Working People of Ethiopia; Chairman, Provisional Military Administrative Council of Ethiopia

At the present moment Ethiopia is among those developing countries which have become the object of special attention on the part of imperialist and reactionary forces. When the imperialists, using as their tools Somali traitors, local nationalists and separatists, provoked armed aggression so as to stifle the Ethiopian revolution in its infancy, we managed to win and protect our country's frontiers. In this we had the all-round help of the countries of the socialist community.

The basic aim of our revolution is to raise the people's living standards by following the socialist path. We are working to achieve this aim in cooperation with the Soviet Union and our other friends. Our efforts to form a revolutionary party, the absence of which was until now a weakness of our revolution, are being crowned with success.

From the rostrum of this world forum of socialist and anti-imperialist forces

we wish to express our heartfelt gratitude to the Soviet Union and all our allies who came forward in support of the Ethiopian revolution. Our struggle and our victories are the struggle and victories of all the socialist forces. We firmly believe that with the internationalist support of these forces revolutionary Ethiopia will build a reliable foundation of freedom, justice and prosperity and will in turn fulfill its internationalist duty.

The working people of the world rejoice in the great successes scored by the Soviet Union in the economic, scientific, technical and cultural fields under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The guidelines for the social and economic development of the USSR for the next five years and for the period ending in 1990 make us feel especially proud. The long and glorious path traversed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a school for Communists throughout the world, where they study the laws of political struggle and the experience of carrying through social transformations.

Dear comrades, the international Communist and working-class movement is the main political force of our time. That is why Ethiopian revolutionaries will spare no effort to make as weighty as possible their contribution in building up a vanguard party on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. □

Mozambique

Marcelino Dos Santos

Member, Standing Political Committee of the Central Committee, FRELIMO, Mozambique

The salvo of the cruiser "Aurora" blazed the road into the future for the peoples, the road to happiness, peace, socialism and communism. The building of the foundations of socialism in Mozambique, a country of working people, is proceeding in difficult conditions. Our country has just begun this great work. As the Soviet people did during the first years after the Great October Socialist Revolution, we are fighting famine, poverty, disease and illiteracy. We trust in our victory, we are confident of it.

Of special significance is the development of diverse relations between the People's Republic of Mozambique—a developing socialist country—and the Soviet Union—a country of developed socialism which is creating the material and technical base of communism. These relations rest on the principle that the struggle for the triumph of socialism is the sacred duty of

communists of all the world. The fulfillment of this duty is no simple matter. But we must emphasize that our relations with the countries of advanced socialism are built on the basis of fraternity, equality and mutual benefit and they promote the building of firm foundations of socialism in our country.

Allow me, dear comrades, to avail myself of this high rostrum of the 26th CPSU Congress to offer our gratitude to everybody in the world who staunchly supports the Mozambican people in view of the act of aggression committed against our country on January 30 by the white minority regime of the Republic of South Africa. We wish, in particular, to welcome the official call of Soviet warships at our ports, which began on February 19. This friendly visit is a sign of genuine solidarity. Let the imperialists know that socialist Mozambique is not alone. And we say: many thanks to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

The People's Republic of Mozambique will continue working to make the Indian Ocean a zone free of nuclear weapons, a zone of peace. All peaceloving peoples are coming out together with the Soviet Union in support of the SALT II Treaty which could help avoid a destructive nuclear war and preserve and strengthen peace all over the world. The People's Republic of Mozambique supports this treaty. But US imperialism is doing all it can to prevent its ratification, contrary to the striving of nations to live in conditions of peace and progress. This means that the struggle is going on and that it is necessary to force imperialism to respect the will of the peoples for peace. Imperialism must know that communists, all democratic forces, all nations want, demand and will win peace on earth. □

Namibia

Sam Nujoma

President, South West African People's Organization of Namibia

Our region, Southern Africa, has never known peace, and the people of our country, Namibia, are ruthlessly exploited and oppressed for the sake of the monopoly-capitalist appetites of imperialism, which fights for the perpetuation of its exploitation and plundering of Namibia's vast resources, and makes the newly independent states targets of its plots and destabilization policies. Imperialism is an ugly monster whose poisonous head must be cut off and smashed.

Our struggle in Namibia is an integral part of the worldwide struggle of peoples for freedom, peace and social progress. Our people, led by SWAPO, have been carrying out a heroic war of resistance and for national and social liberation over the past 15 years, its objective being to wrest power from the clique of minority fascist colonial oppressors and exploiters of racist South Africa and to place it in the hands of the majority—the people of Namibia. This means that the present hated oppressive imperialist system, based on exploitation of man by man, must be destroyed and uprooted to give way to a completely new society in Namibia, non-exploitative, non-racial and socialist.

We have resorted to all methods possible in order to secure the liberation of our country and achieve national independence, including diplomatic negotiations and peace talks, but our enemy, racist South Africa, has remained intransigent and arrogant, not ready and willing to relinquish its colonial, illegal and military occupation of our country through a peaceful or negotiated settlement. Hence our people, led by SWAPO, have been left with no other alternative but to fight militarily in order to defeat and push the enemy from our country. The day of our victory is nearing, it is now only a matter of time. And we are, indeed, very grateful for the material support and continued solidarity which we have received and will continue to receive from the Soviet Union. □

South Africa

Moses Mabhida

General Secretary, Communist Party of South Africa

A hard and long struggle is in store for us. We shall have to make sacrifices, but the will of the people will win, as it won over US imperialism in Viet Nam. The racists will have their first defeat in Namibia, whose people, I am sure, will gain independence, all the maneuvers or punitive actions by Pretoria notwithstanding. The bastions of racism will then crumble in South Africa. Neither the military machine, nor the atom bomb, nor yet covert or sometimes overt aid of the West will save them.

More and more people, especially among the white youth, are coming to realize that apartheid is doomed and are stretching out their hands to us in order to accelerate its fall and jointly build a new life. This explains the desire of the authorities to teach a lesson, by savage reprisals, to those whom they

call "renegades." Those who join the Communist Party are, of course, subjected to the most savage persecution.

We believe that by intensifying repressions the apartheid regime merely reveals its own invalidity. This is above all a sign of despair. Though the racists tell the world they are amending the laws, the essence of apartheid does not change. The practice of depriving Africans of citizenship and of resettling them to so-called independent bantustans, or reservations, has become an extreme manifestation of Pretoria's repressive policy. An African wishing to leave his bantustan now has to get a passport and a visa. By the establishment of a white parliament the apartheid regime intends to complete the isolation of Africans and make them outcasts in their own country.

However, no measures taken by the authorities can stifle the popular resistance. Practically every African family is, in one way or another, taking part in the common struggle.

Last year saw an unprecedented growth of strike and student action. South African punitive troops recently made a brigand raid on a guerrilla camp in neighboring Mozambique. The racists used heavy weapons but their attack was repulsed and they suffered considerable losses. The Africans are fighting not only against apartheid. They are fighting for their land and their country. The working class, which is subjected to super-exploitation, is also active in this struggle. The future liberation will be both national and social.

Our just cause enjoys broad international support. Honest people the world over express solidarity with us, realizing that the regime of inhuman racial oppression is doomed. Speaking about international solidarity, I cannot but do justice to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries which give us moral, political and material support.

Some people in the United States are now talking about Soviet aid to terrorists. It turns out that we, fighters against racism, for our lawful rights, for human dignity, freedom and social justice, are terrorists, while the Pretoria racists are the mainstay of civilization. A strange logic indeed! But wild as it is, reasoning of this kind is not surprising. It is the reasoning of those who directly aid and abet racism. □

Alfred Nzo

African National Congress, South Africa

It is a matter of great honor to us that we are present here to bring greetings and good wishes on behalf of the African National Congress and the oppressed but struggling people of South Africa to the historic 26th

Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and through Lenin's Party to the working class and the entire Soviet people. We sincerely thank the Central Committee of the CPSU for making it possible for the delegation of the African National Congress to be present in Moscow during these historic days.

The growing might of the Soviet Union has enabled the CPSU and the Soviet Government to remain undeviatingly loyal to its international commitment in support of peoples struggling for national liberation and social emancipation. We of the African National Congress take the opportunity to place on record our appreciation of the consistent support we have always unfailingly received from the Soviet Union.

The world anti-imperialist movement is faced with the urgent task of strengthening unity among its ranks, of acting in greater concert to rebuff the onslaught emanating from the common enemy. We are convinced that this 26th Congress of the CPSU will make an important and decisive contribution to the further consolidation of the unity of the world forces of progress. □

America, North and South

Canada

William Kashtan

General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada

If there is one red thread which runs through this great Congress it is embodied in the word *peace*. This is the essence of the foreign policy course outlined in the report of Comrade Brezhnev, as it is the basis of the directives for economic and social development for the next ten years. It is a course of bold and systematic struggle to maintain and consolidate detente and prevent the war makers aided and abetted by the Peking leaders from taking the world on a course leading to world nuclear war. It is a policy of securing peace on a world scale.

As the crisis deepens in the capitalist world the monopoly owned media tries to hide the remarkable successes achieved in the Soviet Union. They purposely distort the self-critical remarks made at the recent sessions of the

Supreme Soviet, to create the impression that the Soviet economy is in a state of stagnation or worse. What they are trying to hide is socialism's superiority over capitalism.

One has only to look at the realities in the capitalist world to see how true this is. In a rich country like Canada we are faced with stagflation, double digit inflation, rising unemployment, the closing down of US branch plants, reduced living standards. Unemployment in Canada is presently near the one million mark.

The economic and social development directive is in the Soviet Union a program geared to peaceful construction. Its aim is both simple and powerful: to raise the living standards of the people. What a contrast with the aim of President Reagan's "economic strategy," which is directed to lower living standards and increase the arms program. This super arms drive means more inflation.

Not only will the people of the USA pay for it. So also will the allies of the USA, including Canada.

One could and should ask: which system is in crisis? The evidence is here for everyone to see. Capitalism is in deepening crisis. The 11th five-year plan, like the peace policy of the Soviet Union, is a breath of fresh air in contrast to the ever growing polluted air in the capitalist world.

The 11th five-year plan will give a further impetus to the growth of the Soviet Union. The stronger the Soviet Union becomes the stronger will be the forces of peace and progress in the world. We are sure the directive for economic and social development will be successfully implemented. □

Chile

Luis Corvalan

General Secretary, Communist Party of Chile

Dear Soviet comrades,

Now that we have entered the eighties and the end of the 20th century is in sight, the outlook is on the whole encouraging. Your marvelous congress has demonstrated that there are forces capable of bringing about a victory of life over death. They can lead nations to a better future and help mankind solve numerous complicated problems facing it.

The arms race unleashed by the United States is assuming horrendous

proportions under Reagan. At the same time the US imperialists are stepping up interference everywhere where they think they should gain or maintain a foothold, using all available means. They are giving increased support to despotic regimes and are organizing a so-called campaign against terrorism in a vain attempt to present the legitimate struggle of nations for freedom, independence and democracy as a crime.

For us Chilean Communists our country's destiny is intertwined with the struggle of the peace forces, whose main support is the Soviet Union and all the socialist community.

Chile is going through a new phase. As the tyrant continues to cling to power and persists in his schemes, various groups who have supported his regime in the past are taking a critical attitude towards it. The number of his opponents is growing and the people are reacting with increasing militancy.

Pinochet's masters have now abandoned the plans they once had to replace him. The dictator has proclaimed himself the country's president for another eight years and his term of office may be extended almost till the year 2000. He has abolished the republican system of government and involved the country in the military and economic system of imperialism which operates hand-in-glove with local financial clans. The country's economy depends on major credits from abroad and extreme exploitation of the working class. The dictatorship rests on arms supplied by Washington, London, Bonn, Tel Aviv, Pretoria and Pinochet's friends in Peking. The coup that deposed the government of President Allende can be traced to Wall Street and the White House. One reason why the coup was possible was that counterrevolution was not duly rebuffed. As our experience is similar to the events in Poland, although, of course, it differs in some respects, we must say that we sympathize with the efforts of the fraternal Polish party to safeguard socialist gains.

Our party is calling for a united front of all the forces of opposition. It aims to mobilize the masses and unite them, employing the most diverse forms of struggle. This is the key to its tactical line. Such tactics rule out any rash action. Broader sections of the population are becoming aware of their right to an uprising. Apart from the Communists, they include other parties of Popular Unity and those circles who see very determined struggle to be the way to achieve victory over fascism with its reign of terror and to establish a people's democratic government with a socialist perspective. □

Cuba

Fidel Castro Ruz

First Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Cuba; President, Council of State and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba

The new world where old colonial empires have collapsed, where socialism is growing stronger and spreading, the world which has ushered in an era of freedom and independence for nations unknown in history—this world has become possible thanks to the existence of the Soviet Union, its firm and principled Marxist-Leninist internationalist policy and, in the final analysis, thanks to its might which imperialism could not and cannot but take into account.

Regrettable as it is, cold war language is beginning to revive in the leading country of the present-day capitalist world. The policy of detente is being brushed aside. It is being replaced by the crazy doctrine of military superiority. Instead of complying with the SALT agreements, stakes are being placed on the production of ever more advanced types of weaponry, which can only lead to an unbridled spiraling of the arms race. With their typical self-assurance the American imperialists are trying to deploy 572 medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe trained on the Soviet Union. They have again begun to talk about the neutron bomb. They are boosting their fabulous military budgets while cutting back spending on domestic social programs and giving scanty assistance to the less developed countries, thus revealing their extreme selfishness, and acting from the position of insolence and strength.

The Yankee imperialists are trying to equate the national liberation movement, the peoples' struggle for social changes in the world, with terrorism. To be a revolutionary, to be simply a progressive political figure or a fighter for democracy, to them means to be a terrorist. By resorting to such falsehoods and lies they finally throw aside the fig leaf of the defense of human rights and in all their impudence once again act as the world's policemen.

Ninety miles from our country, statements are being made about the need to destroy us. We are openly threatened with a military blockade. Even more stringent measures are being considered in a bid to remove the example of socialist Cuba from Latin America and to punish the Cuban people for their friendship with the USSR and the rest of the socialist community and for their

invariable solidarity with the peoples in Africa and the world revolutionary and progressive movements.

The world desires peace, it demands peace. This was confirmed several days ago by representatives from 92 countries and national liberation movements at the non-aligned foreign ministers' conference in Delhi. That is why the Congress of the Soviet Communists relying on the just cause of socialism and the power of this great country has again demonstrated that the USSR, both yesterday and today, remains the mainstay of peace and the independence of nations.

Socialism has shown that it knows how to defend itself and that it never trembles before any enemy. The revolutionary peoples will never hesitate to make sacrifices required by the circumstances to defend their rights to life, independence, the well-being and peace of present and future generations.

Cuba will never be brought down to her knees! We are building a new socialist society with firm determination. We are fully dedicated to creative endeavor but we are preparing to defend our country with the same dedication, the country where the struggle for liberation went on for more than a century. We shall fight to the last for every inch of the land if imperialism takes the risk of attacking our socialist country.

We shall not decline to accept the olive branch if it is held out to us, but we shall never retreat before aggression. Principles are not for sale!

In this battle for our sovereignty, in our continuous efforts to ensure the development of the socialist economy, we have always received fraternal internationalist assistance from the Soviet Union, its people, its communists. That is why, here, at the 26th Congress of the CPSU we want to speak again about our feeling of everlasting gratitude. Besides that, we express gratitude not only for what has been done for us, we express gratitude for what this great country and its great people have done for all of mankind.

The Second Congress of our Party proudly declared before the whole world that relations between the Soviet Union and Cuba are an example of fraternal friendship based on respect. We are friends and we shall always be friends of the generous and heroic people who have given such tremendous assistance to us. Never will ingratitude, opportunism or treachery worm their way into our hearts! □

Jamaica

Dudley Thompson

Chairman, People's National Party, Jamaica

The resurgence of the National Movement culminated in the victory of the People's National Party at the polls in 1972. This signalled the recommitment of the Jamaican people to the struggle against imperialism and for total liberation from forces of both internal and external domination.

Under the leadership of the party for eight and one-half years, our people tackled the most urgent tasks of a national democratic character. With a clear commitment to the non-capitalist path of development, we began to take hold of the national economy by controlling our national resources, developing both state and cooperative sectors in the economy and a fundamental program of land reform.

However even these modest attempts at democratic transformation incurred the hostility of imperialism and local reaction. Every possible means was used to create difficulties in the economic sphere, and these difficulties in the economy created the basis for fomenting unrest reminiscent in some respects of Chile under Allende. This national and international campaign against the Manley regime finally culminated in the defeat of our party at the polls in 1980, creating a new situation in our country and the balance of forces in the region.

Today there is an increase in tension in the Caribbean. However, in our region we have had some recent cause for celebration as the peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada have been able to achieve some control over their fates.

Comrades, the areas of conflict are many. The process of liberation will continue until a world of free people is established. The developing world is at various stages in the struggle to achieve genuine national liberation as distinct from formal independence.

These many areas of conflict highlight the importance at this moment of this congress whose basic theme stands out clearly as a quest for International Peace.

In all our moves to achieve genuine progress we have always found the world socialist movement, led by the Soviet Union, a consistent and ready ally. Your moral and material support have been called upon frequently in the last two decades, and often in difficult situations, but we have observed that

your commitment to proletarian internationalism has been steadfast and unswerving. □

Nicaragua

Carlos Núños Téllez

Member of the national leadership, Sandinist National Liberation Front; Chairman, Council of State of the Republic of Nicaragua

In 1959, when Cuba's heroic victory roused hope in the people of our continent, the imperialists swore they would not allow any other revolution to take place in Latin America. Nevertheless, a new revolution came about twenty years later to give birth through suffering to revolutionary Nicaragua in Central America. We are a small country, a proud people who have accomplished a great revolution in the very heart of America. We represent a revolutionary people who are now consolidating their fraternal and unbreakable political ties with the Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Peace on earth is jeopardized by various conflicts fraught with the danger of war and catastrophe for the whole of mankind. This is felt particularly in Central America today. At present naval exercises are being conducted in this region of Central America. They are threatening Nicaragua with invasion.

We are threatened with destruction to teach a lesson to other peoples and countries striving for freedom and independence, for their complete liberation. They want us to abandon our ideological principles and our struggle for the peoples' right to self-determination. They want us to renounce our internationalist spirit and to stop rendering moral support to other peoples and to the just cause of the people of Salvador. They want us to renounce our right to full sovereignty.

Nicaragua cannot be bribed. We shall not retreat in the face of difficulties. We are prepared to overcome all obstacles and translate into life the historical aspirations of our people. We are prepared to bear all hardships but we shall not allow anyone to subjugate us once more.

Central America, this heroic land which has been plundered for decades, faces many dangers. In this small region Nicaragua attracts the attention of the most aggressive forces of imperialism. It has become an object of its militarist policy. Today it is faced with a food blockade; tomorrow it may be an

invasion. Realizing this, we count on the solidarity of revolutionary, democratic and progressive peoples of the world, of the public at large, who are prepared to strengthen the foundations of peace and progress and vigorously to counter any form of aggression.

We express our confidence in the fraternal, revolutionary solidarity of the socialist countries and all delegations present at the congress. We believe these ties will grow stronger and stronger, despite the thousands of kilometers separating us. □

Asia

Afghanistan

Babruk Karmal

General Secretary, People's Democratic Party;
Chairman of the Revolutionary Council

The transition to a new life in Afghanistan began after the April 1978 revolution carried out at the will of the masses under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party. It is an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and national-democratic revolution. The people have already begun to enjoy its fruits: the landless peasants are receiving plots of land and organizing cooperatives, hundreds of schools have been opened, and tens of thousands of illiterates are learning to read and write.

The revolution is fiercely opposed by the imperialists and hegemonists and by local reactionaries who seek to reverse the course of history. By sending in bands of murderers and wreckers trained and equipped by them, these forces have launched an undeclared but nonetheless active war against Afghanistan. Only the internationalist aid given by the Soviet Union at the request of the lawful Afghan government and in accordance with the 1978 Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighbourliness and Cooperation and Article 51 of the UN Charter has saved our revolutionary gains, national independence and territorial integrity from outside encroachments and, in general, preserved peace and security in the region. The unceasing slanderous campaign will not

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divert us from the road of progressive change in the interest of the masses and of consolidating people's government.

The Afghan government has more than once declared its readiness to start political negotiations with our neighbors—Pakistan and Iran. We would like, through a peaceful dialog with each of these countries, to settle our differences and normalize our relations on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's affairs.

As soon as the intervention, aggression and armed provocations from without are stopped and firm guarantees are given in this respect we shall arrange with the Soviet Union for the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan. We note with great satisfaction that such is also the principled stand of the Soviet Union authoritatively reaffirmed by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th Party Congress and in the talk I had with him during the congress. Such a stand makes possible the continuation of progressive social and economic reforms in Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan recently observed the 60th anniversary of the February 28, 1921 treaty of lasting and inviolable friendship. Our friendship is as solid as rock. There is no power on earth that could shake this friendship. It has always been an insurmountable obstacle to those who tried and are still trying to deprive Afghanistan of its independence and slow down its progress. □

Kampuchea

Pen Sovan

Vice-President, People's Revolutionary Council,
People's Republic of Kampuchea

On January 7, 1981, all the Kampuchean people celebrated the second anniversary of the victory over the genocidal regime of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan, venal lackeys of the great-power expansionists and hegemonists. Having been in power for nearly four years, this regime destroyed the entire structure of Kampuchean society to its very foundation. Three million of our fellow countrymen were exterminated in the crudest possible way. All the rest were deprived of elementary conditions of life. Such was the barbaric result of the conducting of Maoist "experiments" in Kampuchea.

Under the revolutionary banner of the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation and the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Council, and owing to the timely and effective assistance from Viet Nam, the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, from peace-loving peoples and various international organizations, the Kampuchean people managed to overcome innumerable hardships in restoring their dear homeland—the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Bodies of people's power at all levels have been set up everywhere, public order and security have been ensured. The Pol Pot gangsters and other reactionary groups have been eliminated, except those that fled and found refuge in the territory of Thailand and are now receiving support from Peking and Washington.

Now that all the intrigues against the Kampuchean revolution have failed, intrigues in which a main role was assigned to remnants of the Pol Pot gangs, Peking and other reactionary forces in Southeast Asia have switched to new tactics. They are now trying to persuade Sihanouk, the traitors Son Sann and Khieu Samphan, to take the place of Pol Pot as leader of another reactionary regime. But we are sure that the new machinations of our enemies will meet with complete failure.

The achievements of the Kampuchean people in the last two years in restoring their country have clearly shown that the progressive changes which have taken place in the People's Republic of Kampuchea are of an irreversible character. The People's Revolutionary Council is the only legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people. As such this body should rightfully take its seat in the UN and other international organizations.

At present the Kampuchean people are enthusiastically preparing for the general parliamentary election campaign. The elections will further strengthen the people's democratic government.

True to its foreign policy of peace, friendship and international cooperation the People's Republic of Kampuchea, together with fraternal Viet Nam and Laos, wishes to demonstrate its goodwill from the rostrum of your congress and to propose that all the countries of Southeast Asia should establish relations which will help strengthen peace and stability in the region.

On this celebrated occasion—the 26th CPSU Congress—we would again like to express our profound gratitude to the CPSU, to the Soviet government and to the whole fraternal Soviet people. The people of Kampuchea will do their utmost further to strengthen and promote relations of fraternity and fruitful co-operation with the heroic Soviet people. □

*Sri Lanka***K.P. Silva**

General Secretary, Communist Party of Sri Lanka

Against the background of the crisis gripping the capitalist world, where inflation and unemployment are rife, the social and economic progress of the Soviet Union is particularly impressive. People willy-nilly compare capitalism with socialism, and this comparison is, of course, in favor of the socialist perspective.

Having opened the doors wide to foreign capital, the present government of Sri Lanka pursues the policy of extending and strengthening ties with the capitalist West. As a result, no large-scale industry is being built and much harm is being done to local industry, the small and middle businessmen. The exploitation of the working people is intensifying and unemployment continues. Things have reached a point where the state-owned enterprises are being transferred to private hands.

Our Party is tirelessly campaigning against denationalization and the subordination of national interests to those of the international monopolies, and for the restoration and expansion of the economically justified contacts with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

It is characteristic that US imperialism, which is extending its military presence in the Indian Ocean, is being actively helped by the present Chinese leaders who reduce this acute problem to the plane of talk about the supposed "rivalry of the two superpowers." But it is impossible to deceive the peoples. They see for themselves and know who is really striving for domination in the Indian Ocean, who is building one base after another and increasing its naval presence in that region.

I remember well what Leonid Brezhnev said at the 25th Party Congress: the Soviet Union has never built and has no intention whatever of building military bases in the Indian Ocean. Soviet policy is best illustrated by Leonid Brezhnev's doctrine of peace and security for the Persian Gulf, which, in our opinion, has a direct bearing on the entire region of the Indian Ocean. This explains why the progressive forces of Sri Lanka and other littoral states highly assessed this peace initiative, which accords with the interests of our country and the security of the entire region. We are sure that vigorous action by all peace forces will help to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and cooperation. □

Viet Nam

Le Duan

General Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Viet Nam

By pursuing a Leninist foreign policy, the CPSU and the Soviet government have tirelessly struggled for world peace and security, put forward a number of initiatives aimed at detente and disarmament, and given a resolute rebuff to the dangerous ventures launched by imperialism's militarist circles in collusion with reactionary Peking leaders. The Soviet Union supports in every way possible the just cause of peoples fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Taking into account the laws of historical development and the country's specific features, the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Viet Nam mapped out a course for furthering the socialist revolution, whose main essence is to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and the working people's right to be the collective masters of their country. It is planned to carry out three revolutions—in the sphere of production relations, science and technology, and ideology and culture. The main emphasis will be on the scientific and technological revolution. It is also necessary to establish a system of collective socialist management, to develop large-scale socialist production, to mold a new culture and a new socialist man. The implementation of these tasks will make it possible to build a socialist Viet Nam—a powerful, rich country that will have modern industry and farming, reliable defence, and advanced science and technology to help give our people a happy and civilized life.

The Vietnamese people have enthusiastically set out to build a new society by transforming and developing the economy, and are making every effort for the country's steady development along the road of socialism. But the reactionary grouping in Peking's ruling circles regard united socialist Viet Nam as an obstacle to the implementation of their expansionist and hegemonic designs in Southeast Asia. This is why they are openly pursuing a hostile policy towards Viet Nam and have unleashed, through the clique of butchers Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan, a war in Kampuchea, on Vietnam's southwestern border, and then invaded our country throughout its northern border.

With Ho Chi Minh's behest "There is nothing dearer than independence and freedom" in our mind, the Vietnamese people have defeated Peking's invading forces in the south, defended their national sovereignty and ensured

peace and stability in this region of the world.

At present the Vietnamese people are faced with extremely complex tasks: on the one hand, to continue to build socialism in every way possible, and, on the other, to be prepared to defend their homeland. Despite the incalculable difficulties and hardships the country has gone through, our people are fully determined to carry out successfully these historic tasks jointly with the fraternal people of Laos and Kampuchea.

The invariable policy of our party and state is to pursue a Leninist course, to unite and realize all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union. The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Soviet Union has strengthened and deepened our relations of fraternity and comradeship. Responding to the call of the heart and reason, Soviet friends render considerable support to Vietnamese people and most effectively assist them in building and safeguarding their socialist motherland. On behalf of our Party and all Vietnamese people I would like to avail myself of the opportunity to express my most sincere gratitude to the Soviet Union for its noble manifestation of proletarian internationalism. □

Europe, East and West

France

Gaston Plissonier

Member, Political Bureau, Secretary of the Central Committee, French Communist Party

We highly appreciate the contribution of the socialist countries, in particular, the Soviet Union, which is perseveringly working for continuing detente, for peaceful coexistence and for international solidarity. All the new Soviet initiatives in favor of ending the arms race, above all, the initiatives put forward at your congress by Comrade Brezhnev, meet the interests of the working people, the nations and peace.

The report by Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev presents a broad picture of Soviet reality. We welcome your successes; some of them are striking, they have advanced your country to the first place in the world in various spheres.

Under the leadership of your party the Soviet Union is now on the upsurge. We follow with tremendous interest how you are solving problems arising from the development of socialist society in a new and complex situation. The past five-year plan period marked a new stage in your economic growth.

While inspiring the struggle in defense of the interests of working people, for the satisfaction of their economic, social and political demands, the French Communist Party is also resolutely fighting to bring nearer the hour of genuine political changes which will open the way to socialism. Our struggle is based on a class approach; it provides for carrying out radical structural reforms, the development of the economic potential and for France's pursuit of an active and independent policy on the world scene.

As was observed in the joint communique of the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev and the delegation of the French Communist Party headed by Comrade Georges Marchais in January 1980, "the construction of socialism in many countries of the world is assuming different forms. . . . This diversity, which will continue to grow, shows that origin and development of socialism present a concrete response to the objective requirements of a people and a country and that does not admit of a standard approach to matters and the copying of someone else's experience."

The socialism we are fighting for in a democratic way will have specific features of its own and reflect our country's national traditions.

In the interests of the peoples of our countries, of peace and socialism we are seeking to develop further relations between the French Communist Party and the CPSU on the new basis determined at the meeting held in 1980.

We are also sincerely striving to deepen solidarity with all forces fighting everywhere in the world against imperialism, for peace and disarmament, for national independence and socialism. □

The German Democratic Republic

Erich Honecker

General Secretary of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany; Chairman, GDR Council of State

Twenty million sons and daughters of the heroic Soviet people gave their lives in the Great Patriotic War against Hitler nazism, for the liberation and peaceful future of nations. We shall never forget it, dear comrades. And if in the second half of this century it has become possible to break the

fatal chain of world wars and to have Europe living in peace for more than 35 years now, the greatest credit for it goes to the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet people, loyal to the immortal ideas of Red October, are making the weightiest contribution to promoting fraternal cooperation in our community. We shall continue to forge ahead together with you, dear Soviet comrades and friends, strengthening socialism and defending it from any enemy encroachments. Against the background of present-day world development and the ever greater demands made by the 1980s, it is becoming more and more apparent that the strength of the countries of the socialist community and the guarantee of their successes lie in their unity and cohesion on the basis of the tested principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Dear comrades, the 26th Congress of the CPSU has convincingly confirmed that the Soviet Union is consistent in following its genuinely humane foreign policy based on the Peace Program of the 24th and 25th Party Congresses. And neither the course towards confrontation adopted by certain NATO quarters, in particular the United States, nor the Peking leaders who, in pursuit of their great-power, chauvinistic and hegemonic aims, enter into a dangerous collusion with the most aggressive forces of monopoly capital, will ever be able to deflect them from this path.

The policy of the GDR opposes the revanchist doctrines of the allegedly "existing German Reich within the 1937 borders," the "open German question," and so on. Our policy is aimed at developing normal good-neighborly relations with countries having different social and economic systems, including the Federal Republic of Germany. We are seeking to develop relations with it in full accordance with the coordinated policy of the socialist community of countries, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and standards of international law. □

Greece

Harilaos Florakis

General Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Greece

The hearts of progressive workers, peasants and young people in Greece beat in unison with the hearts of the working people of the Soviet Union both in hours of joy and in difficult times. We do not conceal the difficulties created by imperialism for mankind now, at a time when the crisis

is worsening. We in our country are experiencing these difficulties every day and are working to overcome them.

The return to the policy of confrontation and an unbridled arms race, which is gaining dominance in the United States, is fraught with the catastrophic menace of a thermonuclear conflict. Comrade Brezhnev's proposals in defence of peace, detente and disarmament are a powerful weapon in the hands of all the peoples of the world.

Reactionary propaganda is attempting to weaken this weapon in many ways. One of them is the well-known slogan of "national policy" which, they say, must not be dictated from foreign centers. In reality this means that agreement with the proposals and policy proclaimed by Comrade Brezhnev and aimed at solving mankind's urgent problems is regarded as dependence on Moscow, while disagreement with them is alleged to be independent national policy.

Some communists seek answers to questions posed by the aggravation of the economic crisis, the deepening of social contradictions and the cold war policy of the United States, in some kind of "modernization" of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We for our part believe that these problems demand of communist parties a consistently class-oriented and internationalist answer.

The experience of many years shows that when they are united the working class and its revolutionary parties win major successes in the struggle against international capital. The current situation makes more necessary than ever coordination of the actions of fraternal parties, especially European ones in order to foil imperialism's plans and protect detente and peace with the help of the broad movement of the anti-war forces.

The entire Greek people follow with great concern developments in their region. They reject the apostasy of the government which, contrary to the people's will, has returned Greece to NATO's military organization. They oppose the negotiations on a new agreement concerning US bases. They are also against expansion of the network of these bases. Behind all this they see plots by the US and its henchmen to involve Greece in adventurist plans in the Middle East, to step up interference in the internal affairs of Greece and put pressure on our country and its independence. Behind all this they also see a growing menace to the people of Cyprus.

Over one and half million Greeks have signed a call for dismantling US and NATO bases in Greece. Tens of thousand are taking part in the struggle for detente and peace, for our country's withdrawal from NATO.

Our working class and all the working people are stepping up strike action in retaliation to the policy of subjugation to US imperialism and NATO, the policy of integration with the Common Market, of tightening belts and unemployment. The peak of such activities was the general strike of

November 10, 1980. Major actions have been organized against our country's return to the NATO military organization. The government used force against those participating in these actions in Athens and two people were killed. The acts of terrorism and arson perpetrated by hoodlums and imperialist agents are an attempt to provoke the democratic movement which is calling for free elections and the removal of right-wing forces from power. The internal situation in our country is worsening.

The majority of Greek people highly value the peaceful actions and proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, they welcome every new step in relations between Greece and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, especially in the Balkans. Our people are for making the Balkans and the Mediterranean a zone of peace free from the encroachments of imperialism. □

Hungary

Janos Kadar

First Secretary, Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

Responsibility for our common cause and the internationalist cohesion of independent communist and workers parties on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism are particularly important in the present situation. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, for its part, is seeking to promote this. The cooperation of communists, of all progressive and peaceloving forces is capable of repulsing the mad arms drive and can doom to failure the imperialist schemes directed against nations.

The Hungarian people support the decisions of the 12th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held in March last year, and are actively helping to implement them. We are aware that we have many more complex problems to solve. But we look ahead with confidence because we believe in the creative force of the working people for whom socialism has become a matter of vital concern.

Both in creative endeavor and in our international activities we rely on the powerful force of cooperation among the countries united in the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. We are expanding our ties with the developing countries. And we are prepared, provided the principles of peaceful coexistence are observed, to expand

mutually beneficial contacts with the developed capitalist countries too. Together with our allies we see the most important goal of our foreign policy to be curbing the arms race, easing tension, defending peace and creating a calmer situation on our planet. We consider that the road along which a good start was made in Helsinki is the right road for Europe. In this connection we hope for a constructive conclusion of the current meeting in Madrid, which meets the interests of all its participants.

The Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic, the peoples of the socialist community countries are united by their common objectives and basic interests. We have common joys and concerns. We are all aware that cohesion, unity and cooperation multiply our forces and that is why we are seeking to strengthen them in every way. The events in Poland have been attracting considerable attention in recent months. Our enemies hope for a weakening of the positions of socialism. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian people stand in solidarity with the fraternal Polish Party, with the supporters of socialism in Poland. We believe that the Polish people led by the Polish United Workers' Party will find a way out of the difficult situation along socialist lines. As the Polish comrades themselves declare, Poland has been, remains and will be a member of the family of the socialist countries. □

Italy

Giancarlo Paitetta

Member of the Leadership, Italian Communist Party

We have been following the proceedings of your Congress with keen interest. It opened with an important speech by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, a speech that has evoked a broad response and new hope for peace in the world. His report has charted a course for a search for ways to talks and understanding in order to revive the process of detente and the defence of peace.

We remember the historic role of the Great October Revolution which ushered in an era of emancipation of man from oppression and exploitation.

We remember the decisive contribution the Soviet Union, its Party, its army and people made to the rout of German and Italian fascism at a time, when we Italians, together with other peoples and other anti-fascist forces, were fighting a guerrilla war in our country.

We remember the role the Soviet Union has played and is still playing

today in the difficult process of the liberation of the colonies, when conditions are taking shape that enable the countries of the Third World to take a worthy place in the international arena.

Although there are divergences and even differences on important questions between our parties, we believe that discussions on them may be useful and fruitful for better understanding.

The defense of peace is still a task of primary importance. We too regard the renewal of the arms race and the outbreak of local conflicts as a grave danger to peace. The failure to ratify the SALT II treaty, the difficulties standing in the way of a positive conclusion of the Madrid meeting, the decision on the deployment of new missiles in Europe instead of conducting talks on establishing control over the balance of forces and reducing the number of missiles on both sides—all this is fraught with dangerous consequences, and tremendous efforts will be required to overcome them.

As far as Afghanistan is concerned, we have stated our position clearly; it is well known. At present we maintain that it is necessary to achieve a political settlement through talks between the sides concerned, a settlement that will rule out all interference from outside and any presence of foreign troops and will guarantee this country independence, the status of a non-aligned state and the right of the Afghan people to determine their own fate.

We regard as absurd the attempts of the US government to equate gangster-style terrorism, which in our own and other countries is spearheaded against democratic institutions, with the national liberation movements. Our answer to this is increased solidarity with all who are fighting for their national rights and freedom, from El Salvador to Namibia, from Palestine to the Sahara.

It is with interest, not entirely free from anxiety, and also with faith and hope that we have followed events in Poland. We share the appraisal of the situation, as given by the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party. In keeping with this appraisal, the demands of the workers in combination with the criticism and self-criticism of Polish Communists themselves should lead to renovation. In our view, the Party and government of Poland have already begun such renovation. We believe that a political solution of the question, confirmed by the people's approval and support, can and should, with full respect for the independence and sovereignty of the Polish people, ensure the socialist development of Poland, the renovation and national independence for which these people have made such great sacrifices.

In raising the question of internationalism in the form it appears today we emphasize, on the one hand, our duty as Communists to work for international solidarity in present-day conditions and, on the other, the importance of the task confronting us, which consists in uniting all forces representing the

working people with all the liberation and progressive forces. We emphasize these factors so that, despite all distinctions and the independence of each, which merits respect, they should cooperate in the struggle for the great aims of peace and justice among peoples, of development and socialism. □

Poland

Stanislaw Kania

First Secretary, Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party

A profound love of freedom is characteristic of Poles. We shall never forget that Lenin was an ardent champion of the right of Polish people to self-determination and that the Great October Socialist Revolution and its offspring, the Soviet Union, have twice opened up the way to rehabilitation of the independent Polish state.

We remember the remarkable words spoken by Comrade Brezhnev: "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state have always sincerely wished Poland to be a powerful, independent and democratic state." The might and prosperity of the fraternal Soviet Union, the strengthening of its international positions, are wholly in the interests of us Poles. We regard this as the main guarantee of security and as a major condition of our economic development. That is precisely why Polish-Soviet friendship and the Polish-Soviet alliance will always form the cornerstone of our foreign policy and be in the focus of our party's special attention.

Esteemed comrades, during the building of socialism in Poland we have raised our country from ruins and we have achieved historic results in developing the national economy and culture, and in the position of working people. The latest period, however, has seen great difficulties and has brought us face to face with serious trials. A wave of social conflicts has swept the country. A dramatic economic situation has emerged and acute political struggle is in progress.

We are well aware of the great concern felt by your party and the Soviet people over developments in Poland. The situation in and around Poland is directly bound up with the security of all the socialist countries. The socialist community is indissoluble and its defense is the concern not only of every state but of the whole socialist coalition.

The Polish United Workers' Party is fully aware of its patriotic and

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internationalist responsibility to lead the country out of its present social and economic crisis, stabilize its internal situation and create favorable opportunities for the crisis-free development of socialism.

It is not through the fault of socialism that our difficulties arose, but through violation of its principles, disregard of its economic laws and Lenin's norms of party life, an underestimation of the class contradictions in society and a neglect of ideological work. All this, taken together, brought about increasing discontent among workers and growing criticism in party ranks.

In this situation our party has chosen a political way of solving the conflict and of rebuilding society's confidence in people's power. This has become the main direction of our work. We do not, however, overlook the fact that the wave of public criticism is being utilized by forces which do not attempt to conceal their hostile anti-socialist nature and openly counter-revolutionary attitudes, and which are backed by subversive imperialist centers. The opponents of socialism are trying to gain control of the new trade unions and set them against the party. They are attempting to maintain tension, cause anarchy and disorganize public life. We are fully determined to do everything necessary to put an end to these dangerous activities.

We fully agree with Comrade Brezhnev that the events in Poland once again show how important it is for the party, and for the strengthening of its leading role, to pay close heed to the voice of the masses, resolutely to combat all signs of bureaucracy and voluntarism, actively to develop socialist democracy and to conduct a well-considered and realistic policy in foreign economic relations.

We are grateful to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all Soviet people for their fraternal help and support, for their understanding of the situation we are facing, for their belief in the ability of our party and people independently to solve Poland's problems in the spirit of socialism and in accordance with the interests of our country and the whole socialist community. This is our national and internationalist duty which not only must but can be fulfilled.

We wish to assure you, comrades, and all our friends that we have enough resolve and strength to prevent counterrevolution overwhelming Poland. Poland was and will remain a socialist state, a true ally of the Soviet Union and an unbreakable link of the socialist community. She will be an active member of the political and defence alliance bearing the name of heroic Warsaw and will actively participate in all joint undertakings within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. □

*Romania***Nicolae Ceausescu**

General Secretary, Romanian Communist Party;
President, Socialist Republic of Romania

We especially value the upward trend in the development of warm friendship and solidarity between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, between our countries and peoples. This friendship and solidarity rest on the principles of scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism, on full equality and mutual respect, on non-interference in internal affairs and on comradely assistance.

The further, ever increasing development of Romanian-Soviet friendship, cooperation and solidarity will serve the cause of progress and prosperity of the peoples of both countries, and the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world.

The international situation, complex and acute as it is, has reached a new peak of tension; new conflicts and conflict situations have emerged which are posing a great threat to peace and security in the world. At the same time the struggle of peoples and progressive and democratic forces against imperialist and neocolonialist policies, the struggle for national independence and for peace, has gained strength. The present world situation more than ever requires the consolidation of the solidarity and cooperation of the socialist countries and progressive forces in order to prevent further aggravation of the international situation and to revive the policy of detente, cooperation and peace.

Romania is firmly determined to continue to make its contribution to cooperation within the framework of CMEA, with the aim of satisfying the needs of member-countries for raw and other materials, energy, lathes and up-to-date technology to make the activities of this organization a genuine model of just relations and fruitful cooperation between free and sovereign socialist states in the name of the victory of socialism and communism in our countries. We are also developing our cooperation with the Warsaw Treaty member-states to rebuff any imperialist aggression. We are broadening our cooperation with other socialist countries, with developing and non-aligned states. We are also developing our relations in the spirit of peaceful coexistence with all the nations of the world regardless of their social system.

In the center of nations' concern today is the problem of stopping the arms race which has assumed tremendous, one may even say catastrophic, proportions, of the transition to disarmament and, primarily, nuclear disar-

mament, of ensuring peace and the right to life and security for all the nations on earth. In this respect, we hail the proposals, contained in the report of Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, for building confidence, disarmament and holding negotiations to solve all controversial issues. We hold that to ensure peace, detente and disarmament everything should be done to stop the arms race and achieve a balance of forces not through the build-up of armaments, but through their steady reduction down to their complete liquidation. All this is the highest priority in safeguarding peace, social progress and building socialism and communism. □

*The Middle East**Egypt***Khaled Mohieddin**

General Secretary, National Progressive Unionist Party of Egypt

Our party is about five years old. It was born as a result of the national-democratic and social achievements won by our people through the revolution of July 23, 1952, under the leadership of the late President Gamal Abdel Nasser. It was born at a time when these achievements were being challenged.

In its ranks our party unites all the left-wing forces of Egyptian society that were born in the crucible of the revolution of July 23, 1952, and passed its test. It unites the Nasserite, Marxist, religious enlightenment, Arab patriotic, socialist and democratic trends. The program of the National Progressive Unionist Party of Egypt is based on strict observance of the principles of the great revolution of July 23, 1952, and on its development in new conditions. That is why our party is waging an unrelenting struggle against imperialism, colonialism and Zionism, that is why it adheres to the policy of non-alignment in the spirit in which this policy was pursued by our leader Gamal Abdel

Nasser. Our party realizes the importance of the cooperation and solidarity of the forces constituting the world national liberation movement and its inalienable component, the national liberation movement of the Arab countries, and also the importance of solidarity with the socialist countries, especially with the Soviet Union. We are fighting for the independent and progressive social development of our country, for the firm establishment of national, political and economic independence.

Our party realizes that the Egyptian people form an inalienable part of the entire Arab nation. The achievement of Arab unity constitutes a cardinal principle of our party. That is precisely why we utterly reject the current policy being pursued in Egypt with a view to sow discord between the Egyptian people and the peoples of other Arab countries. We oppose this policy, because it contradicts the true interests of the Arabs.

Our party has taken up a firm and resolute stand towards the Camp David agreements and the Camp David course which aims to bring our region back into the orbit of American domination, to increase the Zionist presence here and to isolate our country from other Arab countries.

We strictly abide by all UN resolutions on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories, the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and also the resolution that condemns Zionism as a form of racism. In particular, we support Resolution No. 3236 of the UN General Assembly which reaffirms the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the creation of an independent state on their own soil. This resolution declares the Palestine Liberation Organization to be the only lawful representative of the Palestinian people. Together with the national liberation movement in Arab countries and Palestine our party resolutely resists all attempts to eliminate the Palestinian question. It maintains that solution of the Palestinian problem is the only way to the establishment of peace and stability in the Middle East.

The Egyptian people's resistance to official policy has been noticeably mounting in all spheres of political and economic life, particularly in matters bearing on the so-called normalization of relations with Israel, on the defense of the state sector, of the achievements of the workers and peasants and the protection of national independence.

Our party advocates the right of all peoples to self-determination, their right to choose any form of government that best suits their interests. Our party upholds their sovereignty over their own national wealth. The experience of the multinational Soviet people teaches us respect for the national-spiritual culture of other peoples, for their lawful right to build up a society free of exploitation. This experience has helped mankind to advance far ahead in the struggle for a better future for all peoples. □

Iraq

Aziz Mohammed

First Secretary, Central Committee, Iraqi Communist Party

A campaign of savage repression and persecution has been unleashed against our party, against the country's democratic forces and against the Kurdish people. Despite the heavy damage done to our party, this malicious campaign with its political aims and designs, like other campaigns of this kind launched by reactionary and dictatorial regimes, is being defeated.

The Iraqi Communist Party has suffered heavy losses. Many of its leaders, its cadres and rank-and-file members have perished. But these losses have only tempered and consolidated the party's ranks. Our party succeeds in isolating its enemies and the enemies of our people and in defending and strengthening its positions among the broad working masses by pursuing a revolutionary policy, safeguarding the interests of the working class and all working people, by pursuing a policy aimed at uniting all the patriotic forces, by its tireless struggle to ensure the Kurdish people and the national minorities their democratic freedoms and national rights, by fighting against any forms of racial discrimination and chauvinism, and by strictly abiding by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The effective internationalist support which our people and all progressive forces in the country receive from the international communist and working-class movement headed by the Soviet Union, from the national liberation movement in Arab countries, the valiant forces of the Palestinian resistance movement, consolidates our confidence of the triumph of our people's just cause.

It is well known that our army and our country have been drawn into a disastrous military venture which is contrary to our people's national interests. This venture serves only imperialism's interests, Zionist aggression and the reactionary forces. Imperialism, US imperialism in particular, has already made use of this war to increase its military, aggressive presence in the region. It has not abandoned its attempts to interfere in our country's internal affairs. Meanwhile thousands of people in our country are perishing, the economy and vital industrial facilities created by the work of our people over decades are being destroyed and the population's living standards are declining.

Our party has condemned and continues to condemn the bloody massacre

into which two neighboring peoples—Iraqis and Iranians—have been drawn, and it demands an immediate stop to it, the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Iranian territory and a peaceful settlement of all the disputed issues between the two countries. Our party believes a speedy settlement can be guaranteed by stepping up the struggle of all the democratic forces.

Our party declares its complete solidarity with the Polish United Workers' Party and support of the latter's activity aimed at safeguarding the gains of socialism, rebuffing the attempts on the part of imperialism and enemies of socialism to make use of the temporary difficulties the country is going through and encroach on its great achievements. We also declare our full solidarity with the Afghan people and their vanguard, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in their struggle for independence and a free choice of government. □

Israel

Meir Vilner

General Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Israel

We are inspired by the CPSU's constant concern for improving the people's living and cultural standards, by its policy aimed at supporting all peoples struggling for national and social emancipation and against aggression. The essence of Comrade Brezhnev's Report is the struggle for world peace, for preventing a nuclear catastrophe. We are convinced the 26th Congress of the CPSU will go down in history as a strong appeal to the peoples to step up their struggle against the danger of war.

The growing might of the Soviet Union makes a decisive contribution to strengthening world peace and developing the revolutionary process. One cannot fight for peace and at the same time fight against the Soviet Union. Peace and the Soviet Union are inseparable.

We have come from a country where unbridled anti-Soviet propaganda is carried on 24 hours a day. Israel's leaders co-operate with the most reactionary imperialist circles opposing detente, with fascist juntas in Latin America and the racist regime in South Africa. We Israeli Communists are waging a struggle against the dominant policy of Zionism, threatening peace in our region and fraught with grave danger to Israel itself. The Israeli ruling circles express readiness to place the country and its army at the service of American imperialism's global policy directed against independent countries

in the Middle East, in the Persian Gulf region and in Africa. Being internationalists and patriots, we actively oppose this ruinous policy. We are against our people being an occupying force and our young people being used as cannon-fodder in imperialism's interests. The incessant bloodshed and the deep economic and social crisis have compelled hundreds of thousands of Israelis to leave the country. Zionism that had promised Jews a safe asylum has made life in Israel most insecure.

Comrades, our delegation has enthusiastically welcomed the new Soviet initiative on settling the Middle East crisis, contained in Leonid Brezhnev's report. The holding of an international conference to establish a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East is vitally important and urgent. The Camp David deal between the United States, Israel and Egypt makes the peaceful settlement even more remote. The aim of this deal is to set up a military bloc in our region. It has been proved conclusively that "peace cannot be achieved the American way."

The Communist Party of Israel supports the Palestinian Arabs' struggle against Israeli occupation, for the creation, along with the state of Israel, of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank of the river Jordan, which will include East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

The Government policy is increasingly opposed in Israel. More and more young people refuse to serve on occupied Arab lands. The Arab population together with progressive Jewish forces of Israel are fighting against the policy of national discrimination. In face of the threat to the democratic freedoms we are coming out for unity of broad democratic forces in opposing the growing danger of fascism. □

Syria

Abdulla Al-Ahmar

Assistant Secretary-General, Arab Socialist Renaissance Party of Syria

The Arab Socialist Renaissance Party and the people of the Syrian Arab Republic highly value the support given by the Soviet Union to the just struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialist Israeli aggression, for the building of socialism in their countries.

The relations of friendship existing between our parties and countries have

always been based on the principles of joint struggle. They have always been of a unmercenary character, founded on mutual trust and respect. Now, in connection with the conclusion of the Treaty of Friendship between the Syrian Arab Republic and the Soviet Union, these relations have risen to a qualitatively new level. The signing of the treaty was received with satisfaction by all the peace-loving forces, peoples and countries friendly to us.

Dear friends, the people of the Syrian Arab Republic under the leadership of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party, its Secretary General, President of the Syrian Arab Republic Comrade Hafiz al-Assad are waging a persistent struggle for the building of socialism. In the years that have elapsed since the revolution in our country, deep social and economic transformations conforming to the people's interests have been effected, and significant successes have been scored along the road to socialism. The national-progressive course of Arab Syria is becoming still more firmly established thanks to the rallying of the working masses of our people—workers, peasants, soldiers and the revolutionary intelligentsia—within the framework of the National Progressive Front.

Comrades, the traitorous Camp David agreements and the policy of separatist deals have torpedoed the efforts to restore peace in the Middle East. Now these deals constitute the most dangerous and wide-scale plot that American imperialism has ever woven against the peoples of the Middle East and the cause of peace in that region. American imperialism is continuing to encourage aggression. At the same time, Israel is continuing to pursue an expansionist policy establishing new settlements on occupied territory, driving out Arab residents, annexing Arab territories, and resorting to barbarian methods of terror and discrimination in relation to the inhabitants of the lands it has invaded. Simultaneously, attempts are being made to suppress the Palestinian revolution. Not long ago the accomplices of imperialism kindled a war between Iraq and Iran detrimental to the interests of the Arab struggle. This war serves the schemes of American imperialism.

Comrades, the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party and the people of Syria together with the states comprising the National Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation, stand firmly on the side of the Palestinian revolution, the Lebanese national-patriotic forces and the Egyptian patriotic movement in their struggle to win final victory against the Camp David collusion. We rely upon the strength of the popular masses of the Arab nation, upon the support of our allies and friends—the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and of all peace-loving forces. We are confident that we will win new victories in our struggle to repel aggression, in the struggle for a just peace, the progress and prosperity of the Arab nation.

It is clear to the whole world that the Soviet Union has always played and is playing an outstanding role in world politics, has supported and continues to

support the liberation struggle of the peoples. It puts forward initiatives aimed at ensuring the triumph of a policy based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, strengthening international detente, against the arms race and for establishing a new and fair world economic order. This policy accords with the interests of all the struggling peoples and enjoys their broad support.

Comrades, we are convinced that your party will succeed in carrying out the new plans outlined by it. The creative energy of your party and people is an unfailing source of inspiration to the world revolutionary movement. □

Khaled Bagdash

Secretary General, Central Committee, Communist Party of Syria

It would be a dreadful mistake and even a crime to regard the struggle taking place in the world as only a struggle between two military blocs, as claimed by the Maoist leaders and certain other quarters who have lost their realistic class view of things. The slanderous inventions about national-liberation movements being "acts of international terrorism" behind which is the "hand of Moscow," will not deceive any people or stop the march of history.

Today the fight is being conducted by the forces seeking to trample underfoot the independence of peoples, on the one hand, and by the forces upholding the sovereign right of every people to their own territory and natural wealth. The former are headed by US imperialism and the latter by the Soviet Union, the homeland of great Lenin.

In connection with the events of Afghanistan the attempts of the US to pose as "defender of Islam" suffered complete failure in Syria. This is also true of its attempts to mislead the Arab peoples by spreading a myth about a "Soviet military threat".

Comrades, our homeland, Syria, is playing a key role in the fight of the Arab peoples for a just solution of the crisis in the Middle East, demanding that Israel withdraw from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, the ensuring of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and the creation of an independent national state under the leadership of their only lawful representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Syria is playing a big role in the fight for foiling the schemes of US imperialism, Zionism and reaction in our region. The Soviet-Syrian Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation, which has been signed, has given powerful support to our country. The Syrian people, broad masses of people in the

Arab world, welcomed the conclusion of this treaty with a feeling of profound thanks and gratitude to their great friend, the Soviet people. □

World Peace Council

Romesh Chandra

President, World Peace Council

The military-industrial complex of the United States seeks to push back the clock of history, reverse the process of detente and bring back the cold war by spreading lies about the so-called "Soviet threat." The military collaboration between Washington and Peking has become a major factor in increasing war danger.

The US imperialists openly proclaim that their military buildup is aimed at ensuring their worldwide supremacy. They claim that they have a "divine right" to intervene with their arms against the sovereignty and independence of any country.

But they will never succeed in their evil aims! The peoples' answer is clear: they will *not* surrender their basic human right to life for the sake of interests of the imperialist military-industrial complex, for the sake of hegemonic schemes.

The imperialists seek to label as "terrorists" all who fight for peace and national independence. The thief shouts aloud: "Catch the thief!"

Who does not know of the daily terrorism against the liberation movements of Palestine, South Africa and Namibia—terrorism for which the Israeli rulers and the South Africa racist regime are responsible? Neither Israel nor South Africa could carry out this policy of terror without the collaboration of the imperialist powers—and in the first place of the USA.

Who does not know that it was the CIA which was responsible for the assassination of President Salvador Allende of Chile and the introduction of the fascist regime of Pinochet? Today Washington pours arms and military "advisers" into Salvador to assist the dictatorial junta in its massacres of the people fighting for their liberty.

The world knows who are the terrorists and who are the patriots, the

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courageous heroes and heroines of the struggle for peace and liberation.

Peace is the running theme of the 26th Congress, of every speech, every discussion in the Palace of Congresses. Peace has been the banner of the Soviet Union from the very moment of its birth. Lenin raised the banner of peace in the very first hours after the October Revolution, and this banner has never been lowered by the Land of Lenin. Wherever people fight for peace and a new life, the Soviet Union stands by their side. □



PART FOUR:

The CPSU and Soviet Society

11

SERAFIM SURNICHENKO

How the CPSU Leads Soviet Society

Many Western authors—some with negative intent and others because they do not know Soviet realities—depict the leading role of the CPSU as administrative activity, ascribing to it managerial functions. Such assertions have nothing in common with the real state of affairs.

The main element in the work of the CPSU is forming a general perspective of society's progress, and organizing the working people to carry it into effect. In working out policies in the various spheres of social life, the party takes into account the existing potential, the vital needs of the country, the experience gained and the apparent trends, and also the possible consequences of the measures and decisions that are being taken.

The party originates in the people and has close relations with them. Unlike other popular organizations, the party expresses the interest of all the working people, of the Soviet people as a whole. As many as 43.4 per cent of its 17.5 million members are workers, 12.8 per cent are peasants, 43.8 per cent are men and women who belong to the technical, scientific and creative intelligentsia, workers of public education, public health services, and culture, administrative personnel and servicemen. The party's members come from the more than 100 nationalities and peoples of the USSR; over 4.5 million are women. This is why the CPSU is free from any departmental, parochial or narrow nationalist influences. It is thus possible for the party to solve problems taking into account the interests of the people as a whole.

The CPSU is the most influential political force in society, and guides all state and public organizations. In formulating policies and projecting their realization, the party explains its policy, sees to it that all the working people understand it completely and are guided by it in their daily work and life. The Communist Party does not stand above the Soviet political system, as is often asserted in the West. On the contrary, together with the soviets of people's

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deputies, trade unions (with a membership of around 130 million), the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League (over 40 million members), cooperatives, other public organizations, and work collectives, the party constitutes a component part of this system and leads it, as it were, from within.

Each organization in the political system has its purpose, expressing specific interests of the various social sections and groups of the working people and performing particular functions. In exercising political leadership, the party coordinates the work of state and public organizations ensuring the joint activity of all components of the Soviet political system.

But the party does not give orders to public organizations. Party leadership is accomplished through formulating the general political course and specific recommendations and proposals for the state organs and the public organizations. Party organizations carry out their policies and influence the work of state and mass organizations through the Communists in them. Of 2.3 million men and women elected to the Soviets of People's Deputies at all levels one million are Communists. Practically all Communists belong to trade unions; four million have been elected to leading trade-union bodies. They are, as a rule, the more politically mature people, whose advice and recommendations are respected by their non-party comrades. Over 60 million working people have been elected to the leading trade union organs and commissions. About 1.3 million party members and candidate-members have been elected to office in the Young Communist League. The party encourages Communists to be active in the work of the mass organizations to which they belong.

Party organs do not appoint officials of state institutions and other organizations. No party body can force a congress, a conference, a meeting or an elective organ of a mass organization of the working people to decide or act a certain way. The party has no administrative right to do that. But neither is it a detached on-looker. The central committee and the local party organs have their own opinions of the questions considered by public organizations. These opinions are put forward by Communists at the meetings of those organizations.

Party organs may recommend the placing of personnel; but who will occupy one post or another in state and public organizations can only be decided by the members of the organizations. In most cases these recommendations are considered, for both the party and the public organizations want to see management in the hands of the most capable and qualified people.

Although the general principles of political guidance of all organizations are the same, there are distinctions in forms and methods because of the roles they play in society.

As the Soviet Constitution states, the Soviet people exercise power through soviets of people's deputies. Over 50,000 such soviets function at all levels in the USSR. These representatives bodies have extensive powers. Combining legislative and executive authority, the Soviets guide all sectors of state, economic, social and cultural development. They take decisions, ensure their execution, and verify their implementation. All other state organs fall under their control and are accountable to them.

The Supreme Soviet, or between sessions its presidium, enacts all national legislation. Draft legislation on key matters may be discussed by the party and examined in the Central Committee which can then make its recommendations. The right to initiate legislation is also vested in the trade unions, the Young Communist League, and other public organizations.

When the bill is submitted to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR after the required preliminary discussion, the central committee of the party cannot make the latter either adopt or reject the bill. The party's attitude to the laws and decisions adopted by the organs of state power is invariable: The party obliges all Communists to set an example in observing them and to assist in strict observance of the laws and decisions of Soviet power by each official and each citizen. The same is the case with the decisions and decrees of the Soviet government and the local organs of state administration. Party organs do not interfere with the work of the organs of state administration.

There are certain distinctions in the party's leadership role in relation to the Young Communist League, with a membership of many millions, because of the league's position in Soviet society. The Young Communist League is the only organization whose relationship with the party is mentioned in the CPSU rules. This independent public organization works under guidance of the CPSU and helps it to educate the youth in a spirit of communism, to ensure their participation in practical construction of the new society. The league works with the party and prepares its best members to join its ranks. This is the only organization which has the right of recommendation for admission to the party: During the past five years almost three-fourths of those who have joined the CPSU have come through the Young Communist League. Since the league sees the whole meaning of its activity in implementing the decisions of the party and the Soviet government, it takes party directives as a guide to action. At the same time the party respects the organizational independence of the league, helps develop its own activity and instructs its organizations to rely on the league in their work with the youth. The league has the right to raise before party organizations questions on the work of enterprises and institutions. It has the right to initiate legislation. YCL-ers are members of the boards of several ministries and departments and participate in the work of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

Experience has shown that in the period of communist construction the leading role and importance of the Marxist-Leninist party in social development is growing. This is due to objective needs: The complexity of the tasks, the growing scale of economic and social development, the improvement of social relations, the extensive participation of millions upon millions of working people in the management of state and public affairs, and the diversity of problems of international activity. But the growth of the leading role of the CPSU does not at all belittle the importance of the state and public organizations. On the contrary, the party makes every effort to enhance their role as much as possible in the accomplishment of the tasks of economic and cultural construction, in the education of people and in the government of the country.

It is important that the millions of working people outside the party should see the policy of the party as their own. In all its work the party is mindful of Lenin's demand that the masses should know everything and form their own opinions. This is why whatever problems the party might undertake to solve, it always seeks the support of the people for the needed measures and reforms.

All cardinal questions, documents of the party and the Soviet state essential for the development of Soviet society are submitted to the people for discussion to find out the attitude not only of the Communists but also of non-party people and to take a fuller account of their views and wishes. Thus in 1977, over 140 million people, more than four-fifths of the country's adult population, discussed the draft of the new constitution. As a result of some 400,000 proposals and amendments, alterations were made in more than 110 articles of the draft and a new article was added. At the end of 1980 and the beginning of 1981, the CPSU central committee's draft guidelines for the economic and social development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the period ending in 1990 were discussed by over 121 million people; in approving the document they made many proposals and expressed many opinions.

The number of people who want to join the party is growing. During the thirty years that preceded the 25th Congress in 1976, the number of its members tripled, and during the past five years it increased another 1.8 million.

But the CPSU does not force people to join. It admits into its ranks only those who have proved in deed that they join the party with the sole purpose of active, dedicated work to build the new society. □

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DMITRY GAIMAKOV

In Moscow, Auto Workers Help Draft the Plans

The nationwide discussion of the draft "Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR" lasted eleven weeks. More than 121 million people took part in the discussion, and became, in fact, co-authors of the Party document. A large number of useful proposals, additions and refinements, enriching the content of the Guidelines, were included in it.

In the days and weeks preceding the Congress, most plants, construction projects and other institutions held extended sessions on the draft Guidelines. "Discussion took place in all divisions, departments and sectors of our enterprise," I was told by A. Popov, instructor of the party Committee of the Moscow Likhachev auto plant, the headquarters plant of the biggest ZIL production association, which incorporates 16 branches. Since the draft Guidelines was a document of the party, Communists were, naturally, the ones most interested in its discussion and analysis. At the plant, public party meetings (at which non-members can also be present and express their views) to discuss the draft were attended by 18,000 people, including 10,963 CPSU members. At the general workers' meetings held by the trade union, the attendance was over 75,000—workers, engineers, technicians and office workers.

But that was only one side of the organizational work. The other was to incorporate suggestions from the rank-and-file concerning the major sections of the draft Guidelines. For that purpose a special commission was formed at the party Committee to receive and analyze proposals made at the meetings, sent to the newspaper *Moskovsky Avtozavodets* (Moscow Auto Worker), or handed directly to the party Committee by members of the staff. Altogether, over 600 proposals were received during the discussion. Some concerned the enterprise's production activity; others contained additions to and refinements of the draft Guidelines, or proposals addressed to the state and economic bodies.

Does this indicate some conflict of interests? On the contrary: we see here

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local and national interests combined, according to the principle which the auto workers followed in their approach to the party document. The principle was stated by M. Salov, chairman of the chief forge shop trade-union committee. "Each paragraph of the draft Guidelines," he said, "is regarded by us in two dimensions: the general, as applied to the country as a whole, and the particular, from the viewpoint of the workers of a specific section, shop, and plant. We determine our attitude not only to what we would like our country to attain, but also what our people and every one of us can contribute to the five-year plan."

The Likhachev plant is one of the biggest producers of trucks in the USSR. The first Soviet-built automobile passed through its gates on November 1, 1924. Today, ZIL trucks are used in many countries. Refrigerators with the Likhachev trademark are exported to 60 countries. In the Tenth Five-Year Plan period (1976-1980), the workers produced 7,742 trucks over and above the target. During that period, rapid technical modernization made it possible to increase production by 21.1 per cent and labor productivity by 30.9 per cent, which was higher than the five-year-plan assignment.

But this is all in the past; in discussing the draft Guidelines, attention was concentrated on new tasks. The draft gave prominence to speeding up the production of diesel-powered trucks, and to improvement of the design of internal combustion engines to achieve lower fuel consumption levels. And, defining their role in the plans for the coming five years, the personnel of the plant have chosen, as a priority, development of a new, progressive truck model with a diesel engine. Inter-departmental testing of the new truck was completed on the eve of the 26th Congress, but quite a few problems remain unsolved. Their solution is the aim of many of the 300-odd proposals concerning the work of the shops, sections and individual services of the enterprises. The remaining proposals focus on use of latent reserves, improvement of economic activity, and educational work at the enterprise.

"Every proposal was studied by the Party, trade-union and Komsomol committees of the works jointly with the management," said Popov. "A detailed plan for their realization has been drafted, with terms and responsibilities indicated. I would say that most of the proposals whose realization depends on the enterprise personnel themselves are already in process of becoming reality."

It would be wrong to suppose, however, that in discussing the draft Guidelines the Moscow auto workers were interested only in the development of their own industry. In discussing the party document, the workers expressed their opinion on many problems seemingly quite remote from their narrow professional interests. They made proposals concerning such issues as

the main tasks of the country's economic and social development, advancement of science and acceleration of technical progress, development of industry and of the agro-industrial complex, development of transport and communications, capital construction, improvement of the management of the national economy, distribution of productive forces, and protection of nature. A quarter of all the proposals were related to the problem of social development and improvement of the well-being of the people.

Some specific examples. Fitter N. Lobanov argued that it is necessary to build specialized foundries, whose products would make possible fuller use of the country's automobile fleet and better supply of spare parts. V. Petrov, a molder at the malleable cast iron foundry, fully supporting the progressive team method of work organization, in which rotation of workers among jobs is an important element, recommended "creating a system of moral and material incentives for workers who have mastered several allied trades." Engineer A. Malashkin raised the question of introducing automatic addressing and programmed control in the mass-production assembling shops, and also of new types of electric motors with built-in brakes. V. Kovrigin, department chief of the head metallurgists board, suggested including in the draft Guidelines a point about raising the quality and increasing the output of metal powders and articles made of them, and even named the required increase—threefold. V. Shuvayeva, a painter in the body shop, stressed the importance of the further development of children's health resorts and sports camps.

About 140 of the proposals and remarks were forwarded to the central bodies, ministries and departments, to the Moscow city and district Soviets of People's Deputies, and to a number of economic bodies of the capital. Many of them concern problems of social development and raising the living standards of the people.

The following proposals concern the development and use of public transport. Engineer Yu. Karikh proposes introducing free public transportation for children up to 14 years of age. L. Filipenkova, senior foreman of the refrigerator shop, considers it necessary to abolish fares in city transport altogether (in Moscow, subway and bus fare is five kopeks, and a monthly commutation ticket for all types of transport, excluding taxi, costs six rubles), and to deduct for this purpose a certain percentage of wages. Engineer V. Fedorin proposes submitting for discussion the possibility of introducing in the USSR totally free use of urban public transportation.

Various points of view were expressed by the auto workers concerning privileges for working women. The draft Guidelines envisaged introducing for working women, beginning in 1981, by the country's regions, partially paid leaves to look after a child until it reaches the age of one year. Industrial engineer L. Yefremova proposed increasing child-care leaves to 18 months,

including that period in their length of service record. Accountant G. Karpova, design engineers A. Semyonova and M. Kopylova, and women workers L. Popova, N. Sedykh and N. Khokhlova of the refrigerator shop, suggested that working women should have fully paid leaves to look after a child until it reaches the age of one year.

In a nutshell, a variety of views and suggestions emerged. The workers devoted much time and effort to the presentation of these proposals, which suggests that they confidently expect them to be taken seriously. Some have already been reflected in one form or another in the Guidelines approved by the 26th CPSU Congress; others are being analyzed in the ministries and departments, economic and other bodies to be taken into consideration while working out development plans for the coming years; still others will serve as a guide in determining the country's economic and social development in the more remote future. □

13

ARKADY KUDRYA

The Party Organization at a Soviet Factory

Moscow's Serp i Molot (Sickle and Hammer) plant is one of the Soviet Union's leading iron-and-steel mills, and among the first in the country to master the production of new brands of steel and to introduce advanced technology.

The plant overfulfilled the targets of the tenth five-year period by hundreds of tons.

Much credit for these achievements goes to the mill's party organization, which numbers about 2,300 communists, or about 25 per cent of the work force. As the plant is being fundamentally rebuilt at present, its employees have to work in difficult conditions. "There was a time when about 60 per cent of the factory's territory was one huge construction site," says Igor Gribkov, 41, secretary of the plant's party committee. "Thanks to the mobilizing role of the communists and the entire party organization, however, the targets were met without fail."

It was stressed in the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Congress that, since according to the Party Rules the primary party organizations have the right to control the management's activities, they should make a better and fuller use of this right and display a principled party attitude regarding the problems of personnel, meeting economic targets and improving working and living conditions.

At its meetings, the plant's party committee regularly hears reports from managers, including the director and his assistants and leading specialists. The committee follows progress in meeting plan targets and in carrying out the rebuilding program, and monitors savings of raw materials and energy. It examines all major questions of production and the work collective's life. A resolution is passed on the results of every meeting and implementation is strictly monitored by commissions which include active party members. There are special commissions dealing with quality of output, with the

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rebuilding program, with letters and complaints from workers, etc.

Some months ago, for instance, the party committee heard a report by the chief engineer of the plant's capital construction division on the results of rebuilding work done in 1980 and on plans for 1981. "The meeting was lively," according to Igor Gribkov. "Quite a few critical remarks were directed at the capital construction division, and communists also made a number of valuable proposals. These debates will undoubtedly help improve rebuilding work."

The plant's party committee consists of thirteen people; the most active communists from all divisions, among them experienced and much-respected shopfloor workers. The committee secretary views their opinion as especially important: those who work at a lathe or an electric furnace clearly see shortcomings and ways to improve production which sometimes escape the notice of "armchair specialists."

The plant's party committee coordinates and guides the activities of all communists, who are united in 28 workshop (primary) party organizations. It is these grassroots divisions, which form the party's basis, which conduct the bulk of activity in developing ideological understanding, a conscientious attitude to work and a thrifty approach to the plant's big and small problems. Secretaries of the workshop party committees also are invited to attend the plant committee's meetings. Both the plant's party committee and the party bureaus—the leading committees—of the workshop organizations pay primary attention to the correct deployment of personnel and promoting to posts of leadership in the more sensitive or weaker production sections energetic people who are capable of organizing and leading a work collective.

Here is an example. A shift could not cope with the assignment at mill 300 in the rolling shop, and neither criticism nor measures taken by the management helped. Discipline was bad and manpower turnover high because of poor management. The shop's party bureau decided to reinforce the shift with a man who would be able to influence the spirit of the workers. Mill operator Anatoly Vlasov, a party member, volunteered to become a team leader in the shift that lagged behind. A top specialist, he is also capable of mixing easily with people and influencing them by his personal example. To begin with, Vlasov got to know the workers and learned about their character and abilities. Some of them lacked experience, and he tried to teach them advanced techniques and everything he himself knew. He succeeded in rallying the team around him; the workers' attitude and morale gradually changed for the better, and the shift began competing with others without lagging behind. Much credit for this goes to communist Vlasov.

Igor Gribkov, the party committee's secretary, believes that the organiza-

tion's educational activity is one of its most important functions. "In molding a man of the future communist society," he says, "we are making use of the best traditions of our work collective, and not only those related to production. The majority of our workers are educated people with an interest in culture and art. Amateur artistic activities are conducted on a large scale at our plant. This year, for instance, the plant's ballet company will mark its twentieth anniversary. Dancers and choreographers from the Bolshoi have helped greatly in the establishment and development of our company. The plant's ballet dancers not only have performed in our recreational center, workshops and Young Pioneer camps but also made successful tours of France, Norway, Finland, Belgium, Denmark and European socialist countries."

Another of Moscow's well-known companies, the Maly Theater, has taken the plant's drama theater under its wing. Gribkov speaks highly of these regular contacts between workers and professional actors and performers: "Meetings with workers in art are held on a regular basis. Our workers are often invited to attend the meetings of the artistic council of the Maly theater; they see premieres and are asked their views of productions. We, in turn, tell actors about our achievements and problems. These contacts are mutually enriching, helping performers to create more authentic characters of our contemporaries on the stage and enabling workers to better appreciate art and value it more. The party organizations of the plant and the theater also maintain close contacts. We have a personal relationship and attend party meetings and meetings of the theater's party bureau, and receive our colleagues here at the plant as well. We share our plans and exchange our views of the forms and ways of providing communist education for young people."

Since the attitude of every factory and office worker is strongly affected by all sorts of social factors and by working and living conditions, the party committee is constantly concerned with them. Though these are first of all the concern of the trade union, the party committee also looks into them, monitors the observance of the terms of the collective agreement and jointly with the union discusses the more outstanding problems.

Take housing, for instance. The workers' housing conditions are constantly improving, and much credit for this goes to the party organization and the trade union. Eleven multistory blocks of flats were built between 1976 and 1980, and about 2,000 workers' families moved into them. Flats were assigned with the participation of representatives of the party organization and the trade union. "Over one-third of the plant's employees are under thirty, the age for starting families," says Igor Gribkov, "and we especially try to ensure good living conditions for young families."

The district and city party committees give much help to the plant in

tackling social problems. "It is hard to find sites for new construction projects in Moscow," Gribkov explains. "And we need sites not far from the plant to build housing for workers. We ourselves cannot decide these questions and apply to higher-up party organizations, which are aware of our needs and ask the governmental bodies, the Soviets, to allot adequate sites to the plant. We are now building housing in the housing development area Novogireyevo, just three subway stops away from the plant."

Planning social development for the work collective, the party organization proceeds from the wishes voiced both by communists and by non-party people. A recent example was the debate at the plant on the Draft Guidelines for the country's economic and social development for the next ten years. The debate went on at all levels at party, trade union and worker meetings—and produced over 1,000 proposals with regard to the plant's practical problems, development of the iron and steel industry and various aspects of the country's social development program.

All proposals were studied by a special commission set up by the party committee and the management, and subsequently systematized. A plan of measures to implement them was approved and is being fulfilled at present. Those proposals which exceed the authority of the plant were submitted to corresponding ministries, departments and state committees of the USSR. It was proposed, for instance, to extend and improve the sports and cultural facilities maintained by the plant and to improve working conditions and pension schemes.

The plant has a commission rating jobs according to certain standards of stress and hazardousness, and the pension age and the size of pensions for workers employed in those jobs depend on the commission's findings. Some participants in the debate made proposals on the employment of pensioners who wish to keep their jobs. There are more than 1,000 of them at the plant: workers in "hot shops" have the right to retire on pension at 50 or 55, and many of them are still able and willing to work. There are also those who are unable to do their old jobs but nevertheless would like to continue working. The party committee together with the trade union and the management closely analyzes all these problems and tries to find a solution satisfying both the worker and the plant.

Igor Gribkov has been working at the plant for 23 years. He came to it after having graduated from a technical school and worked as electrician, assistant foreman and foreman. He got a higher education on a part-time basis, taking an evening course at a metallurgical institute. Igor joined the party 20 years ago, and has been secretary of the plant's party committee for three years now; before that he was superintendent at one of the workshops.

"We give preference in admission to workers in leading trades or to those employed in lines and sections which are essential to the success of the entire plant," Igor says. "We do not have to ask anyone to join, nor do we try to build up the membership rapidly. We have quite a few applicants as it is. We are particular about choosing our candidate members, so no one of them has failed to pass his or her twelve-month trial period. People know that they will have no privileges once they join the party, but they want to become communists because they want to play a more active role in the life of the work collective and thus be more useful to society." □

MIKHAIL RUTKEVICH

Erasing Socio-Class Distinctions as an Aim of the CPSU'S Social Policy

The theory of scientific socialism, created by Marx and Engels, pioneered the way leading to the abolition of the exploitation of man by man and the implementation of the communist ideal of social equality. The founders of Marxism demonstrated the historical necessity of winning political power by the working class. Having become the ruling class, the working class dismantles the old conditions of production and, along with them, "sweeps away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby abolish its own supremacy as a class."

Lenin developed this pivotal element of Marxist theory to fit a new historical epoch. This was reflected in the basic documents of the party of a new type which he established.

The victory of the October Revolution laid the political foundation for a classless society. However, as Lenin wrote in 1919, "in order to abolish classes completely, it is not enough to overthrow the exploiters, the landlords and capitalists, not enough to abolish *their* rights of ownership; it is necessary also to abolish *all* private ownership of the means of production, it is necessary to abolish the distinction between town and country, as well as the distinction between manual workers and brain workers. This requires a very long period of time."

Many aspects of this problem have not been studied fully and deeply enough. The 26th Congress set forth the main directions for the development of social science in the 1980s, particularly, the elaboration of problems connected with social structure and the development of the political system of mature socialism.

The transition from capitalism to socialism was a necessary stage in the historical process of building a classless society. The main aim of the CPSU's social policy was to abolish the exploiter classes, build a society based on the public ownership of the means of production and on collective work, and to promote the unity of all social groups and strata of the working people around the working class.

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Qualitative changes in the social character of the proletariat begin as soon as it assumes power, when the working class becomes master of the country and owner of the main means of production, and begins to work for itself. In the transitional period in the USSR, the working class grew numerically, and perceptibly raised its cultural standards. The major part of it developed a socialist mentality and learned how to manage state power. It strengthened ties with the non-proletarian strata of the working people and developed into a qualitatively new, socialist working class. In the transition period, a comparatively small section of the working class, which was employed at private capitalist enterprises in town, or as farm laborers at kulak-run farms, went to work at state or cooperative enterprises.

As a result of other changes in the social condition of the working class in the transition period, when a great many workers were concentrated at large enterprises during socialist industrialization, the working class rapidly improved its skills and organization, and raised its discipline and consciousness.

By the end of the 1930s sweeping changes had taken place in the social structure of the rural population in connection with the socialist transformation of agriculture. An end was put to the category of kulaks, the rich peasants who lived off the efforts of their less fortunate villagers and who made up the last exploiter class. Farm laborers ceased to exist as a manpower category. The class differentiation of the peasantry came to an end. Such social strata as the poor, middle and rich peasants, the latter exhibiting elements of private enterprise, were replaced by the socialist, socially integrated class of the collective farm peasantry. Collective ownership of the means of production, collective work and equal pay for equal work brought the collective farmers closer to the agricultural and industrial workers.

In the transition period, major changes also occurred in the character of the intelligentsia. By the mid 1930s the consolidation of the socialist intelligentsia, as a new social group of the working people basing its work on the public ownership of the means of production and participating in joint work, had mostly been completed. Former workers and peasants composed the overwhelming majority of the intelligentsia.

In this way, socialism gives rise to an entirely new social class structure of society, a necessary and very important step towards the full abolition of classes.

The stage of mature, developed socialism is an indispensable link in the course of the relatively long period of historical development towards a classless communist society. At the 26th Congress, Leonid Brezhnev said, "The restructuring of all social relations along the collectivist lines implicit in the new system is consummated in the period of developed socialism."

To understand the aims of current CPSU social policy in this field, it is necessary to take into account changes which occur in the class structure of

socialist society in the process of its development, particularly its character under mature socialism compared with the earlier stage when socialism was built only in its main features.

First, before the October Revolution in Russia, the working class was not the majority of the population. The history of our country and that of a number of other socialist countries showed that the working class, even if not the largest class, can lead the majority of the working people to socialism, because of its economic role and political organization.

Since the end of the transition period the main social groups characteristic of socialism have remained the same in the USSR. However, the proportions of the class composition have changed considerably. Whereas in 1939 workers and their families composed 33.5 per cent, in 1978 they accounted for 61.8 per cent. Today the working class is numerically the largest social group in town and country. At present the USSR has nearly 80 million workers: two-thirds of the active population. The class of petty producers, which accounted for 2.6 per cent in 1939, has disappeared. Today, the country has a very small group of self-employed people (individual work is permitted under the USSR Constitution). The intelligentsia has grown substantially: 16.7 per cent before the war, and 23.1 per cent in 1978. It should be stressed that whereas forty years ago specialists made up only a third of the intelligentsia in the broad sense of the word, today more than two-thirds are specialists.

Collective farm peasants and cooperative handicraftsmen were 47.2 per cent of the population in 1939 and 15.1 per cent in 1978. At the end of the 1950s, producers' cooperatives were transformed into state enterprises and somewhat later part of the collective farms became state farms. As a result, cooperated handicraftsmen and a certain number of collective farmers became factory and office workers. However, one of the basic reasons for the reduction in the rural population was industrialization which required the attraction of manpower from country to town.

The numerical dominance of the working class is one of the important factors explaining the further growth of its role as the leading force of communist construction. The party aims to enhance still further the role of the working class in the life of society, primarily through the growth of its sociopolitical maturity, labor activity, culture and skills.

In its social policy the Communist Party continues to take into account the objective necessity of further increasing the specific share of the intelligentsia in the composition of the population. However, it would be a mistake to believe that the increase in these two social groups should eventually lead to all working people becoming either workers or intellectuals. It is wrong,

objectively, to consider the continuing growth of the cultural and educational standards of the workers and collective farmers as leading to the eventual transformation of all direct producers of material wealth into intellectuals. The historical mission of the working class is to build a classless society, and overcome all social distinctions. This is being achieved not through some social groups absorbing others, but through their progressive drawing closer together socially, economically, politically, ideologically and culturally.

The second feature of this process is that the entire system of social relations, particularly socio-class relations, is taking shape at the stage of mature socialism. As I noted earlier, the petty private producers have been "washed away" by life itself. Self-employed people do not play much of a role today.

Special mention should be made of subsidiary individual holdings, which produce certain quantities of goods for the market. In 1979, they accounted for 12 per cent of the commercial output of Soviet agriculture. At the present stage one of the tasks of the CPSU's social policy is to support subsidiary individual holdings in every way, and encourage their closer ties with the socialized sector. The owners of such holdings should have greater aid in land cultivation, in purchasing young livestock and poultry, in providing plots of land to stock fodder, organizing purchase of their surplus produce on the spot, and so on.

I think it is necessary to pay close attention to another specific feature of the development of the USSR's social structure. The coming closer together of the main social groups is increasingly interwoven with the overcoming of social distinctions between strata which make up these social groups. In other words, under mature socialism the trend towards greater social homogeneity permeates relations both between and within classes.

The working class is the central element of the system of socio-class relations under mature socialism. "Its revolutionary ideology and ethics, its collectivist psychology and its interests and ideals are now being adopted by all strata of Soviet society," Leonid Brezhnev said at the 26th Congress. Two aspects of the social homogeneity of the working class increase under mature socialism. On the one hand, social distinctions are being overcome between the different groups of workers in the main sectors of social production. On the other, such differences are being erased between the working class' skilled strata, due to the socioeconomic diversity of work. The bringing of the working class and the collective farm peasantry closer together is inseparable from overcoming the social distinctions between the agrarian sector of the working class and its industrial core on the basis of the industrialization of agriculture. The rapprochement of the working class with office employees is inseparable from its rapprochement with those employed in the service occupations, a group of considerable size which is increasing.

The rapprochement of the working class with specialists, primarily intellectuals in the production sector, is inseparably part of the same process as the coming closer together of the skilled strata of the working class, with the growing proportion of top-category skilled workers, including "worker-intellectuals."

The CPSU has always done its best to take into account the interests of different classes and social groups, and to unite them around the working class and its party. Under mature socialism the alliance of the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia has reached a new high, resulting in further growth of the unity of society. However, the unity of their main economic interests, which receive their concrete expression in the policy of the party, does not mean the absence of certain differences in their interests in general due to the specific positions the social groups hold in the system of economic and other social relations. Where differences exist, there are also the rudiments of contradictions.

Lenin wrote that "antagonism and contradiction are not quite the same thing. The first will disappear, while the second will remain under socialism." The closer the classes, groups, strata and detachments of the working people stand to one another objectively, the more their interests coincide. However, while emphasizing unity, there is no reason to forget about differences and contradictions which we must take into account in tackling all social problems.

Just as in solving socioeconomic questions, the Communist Party and the Soviet government consider the specific interests of the different social groups and strata of the working people, including the intelligentsia, and the interests of different republics and regions. This applies, in particular, to establishing priorities in wage increases. Thus, in raising the wage rates of the middle brackets employed in the service sector—education, health, trade and public catering, research establishments and administration (December 1976)—it was decided to start the gradual introduction of higher wage rates beginning with the North, Siberia and the Far East, and to eventually spread them to the Urals, Kazakhstan, the Volga-Vyatka and Volga areas and later to the rest of the country. Clearly, the wage increases to these categories of manpower stimulated the influx of workers. Also, extra wages available in some areas of the country, giving advantages to their population, help regulate inter-regional migration. Such objective contradictions also apply in distributing investments between regions, republics and sectors, in establishing procurement prices for different farm products, and so on.

In 1981-85 the average monthly wages of factory and office workers will grow by 13 to 16 per cent. The necessity of promoting the role of wages as a

stimulant of labor productivity, the quality of the output and the economy of all types of resources demands the improvement of the wage systems applied to the different categories of workers, with an eye to the complexity and responsibility of work, its conditions and intensity and also the features of economic sectors and regions.

It is more difficult to regulate the socioeconomic processes connected with the collective farm market, especially if state and cooperative shops are short of some goods. There is no doubt that the level of prices at collective farm markets affects the interests of not only the people selling their agricultural surplus, but also the interests of the buyers, most of whom are urban factory and office workers. Combating the shortage of goods and thus scaling down collective farm market prices to the level of state prices is the direction of CPSU socioeconomic policy on this question.

The third feature of the process of growing social homogeneity under mature socialism is that overcoming social distinctions and bringing the classes, social groups and their constituent strata closer together is achieved through the overall promotion of the educational standards, consciousness, skills, material well-being and cultural level of the working people. The growing dynamism of the social system means the acceleration of social integration.

The rapid increase in the numerical strength of the working class in the last few decades undoubtedly facilitates the further growth of its leading role in Soviet society. In the past the main source for replenishing the working class was the collective-farm peasantry, who were markedly behind the working class in general educational and cultural standards and in job skills. At present the gap between the educational and cultural standards of the collective-farm and working-class youth starting on their roads in life has been considerably narrowed. While in 1939 the proportion of people with higher and secondary education in the rural workforce was 6.3 per cent and in the city 24.2 per cent, in 1979 the corresponding figures were 69.3 per cent and 86.3 per cent.

Today the CPSU's social policy is aimed at consistently obliterating social differences in all the major areas indicated by the Marxist theory of classes, that is, in relation to the means of production, the social organization of work and the size and manner of acquisition of incomes.

To begin with, the classes, groups and strata of the working people are continuing to draw closer together with respect to their relation to the means of production, on the basis of the growing level of socialization of the means of production, and the development of specialization and cooperation of farm production as a component part of the agro-industrial complex.

The Communist Party is consistently seeking to expand the material and technical basis of agriculture, which is becoming increasingly industrialized. Capital investments in agriculture between 1976 and 1980 alone totaled over

170 billion rubles, or more than 27 per cent of the overall capital investment in the national economy. The state has assumed the expenditures for opening up new areas for crop farming, for developing cultivated pastureland and for land improvement. The collective farms are incorporated into the state's integrated power system, and are being re-equipped according to plan. The state system of vocational technical training produces skilled farm machine operators for the collective farms. Industrial plants take collective farms under their wing and give them extensive and varied aid on a regular basis. In this way, having grown into large, highly mechanized and specialized production units, the collective farms increasingly need to rely on the country's overall economic potential in order to intensify production.

The scientific and technical revolution necessarily makes production work increasingly intellectual. Science is becoming a direct productive force. The character of work of direct producers is changing as new technology demands of the majority of workers ever more general and special knowledge. The increasing intellectual aspects of manual work are particularly manifest in those plants and industries where the rate of technological progress is faster. The proportion of workers operating sophisticated technology is steadily growing. Even today the labor of those workers is either predominantly manual with high proportion of mental effort or predominantly mental because the operation of sophisticated technology and also the assembly, adjustment and repair of modern equipment demand solid technical and scientific knowledge.

The approximation of physical and mental labor has progressed to such a degree that we can speak about their harmonious fusion. The stratum of worker-intellectuals shows a tendency to rapid growth, particularly in the industries using more advanced technology.

It should be stressed that in their social status, worker-intellectuals are a stratum of the working class because the workers comprising it, as all workers, personally operate technology and produce material values with its help. At the same time they are diplomaed specialists who do not differ from technicians and even engineers in their level of general and technical knowledge. "The closer we approach communism, the more intimate will be the tie between physical and mental labor. Even now a worker often operates big and involved complexes that not every engineer could have coped with before," Leonid Brezhnev has observed.

The opposite aspect of the process, the gradual obliteration of the stratum of workers engaged in unskilled and low-skilled manual jobs, is no less important. The elimination of manual, low-skilled and arduous physical work is one of the major objectives of the social policy mapped out by the 26th

Congress.

Simultaneously with the increasing mental operations required in physical work there takes place the technicalization of mental work for considerable groups of specialists and employees. This is most obvious in the factory sector of science, in experimental production and in the technical research institutes. The introduction of new sophisticated equipment also raises the share of skilled physical work of teachers, physicians, economists and many other specialists. The work of trade and office employees is becoming more technical through adoption of so-called business machines in the sphere of management.

The same process occurs in the sphere of distribution among the classes, social groups and sections of Soviet society. Certain distinctions between collective farmers and workers in the state sector still exist in the form of receiving income and in its size, though the introduction of a monthly guaranteed cash wage and a state pension for members of collective farms has had particularly great significance for the growing similarity in the form in which collective farmers and workers receive their income. However, the average national level of collective farmers' income from the social sector is somewhat lower, which is due to a greater proportion of low-skilled work in the countryside. This gap is gradually being eliminated. The real per capita income of workers and employees was 3.9 times greater in 1979 than in 1940, while that of collective farmers grew by 6.7 times. The level of collective farmers' real incomes in relation to the real incomes of workers and employees, per family member, went up from 75 per cent in 1965 to 89 per cent in 1979. Like previous five-year plans, the Eleventh Plan envisages a more rapid growth in collective farmers' incomes (20-22 per cent) than for workers and employees (13-16 per cent), which will ensure the further drawing together in level of income of the major social groups.

The incomes of workers and specialists are also being equalized. If we take the average wage of industrial workers as 100 per cent, the pay of employees and techno-engineering personnel in 1940 was 111 and 215 per cent respectively. In 1979 the comparable figures were 80 and 116 per cent. The salaries of employees (not technicians and engineers), which on the average were higher than workers' wages are now lower. This is explained by the fact that the average level of workers' skill has increased considerably, and given the same level of skill, a worker's wage is generally higher because his work requires a greater expenditure of energy. As for the salaries of technicians and engineers, in 1940 they were more than twice those of workers and they now exceed the latter by less than one-fifth. This also reflects the rapid growth of workers' skill. However, in many cases the equalization of the pay drawn by a technician or an engineer and that of a skilled worker, or even the latter's being higher than the former, has an adverse effect: workers who have

received a technician's or an engineer's diploma through evening or correspondence studies often refuse to join the ranks of techno-engineering personnel for financial reasons.

It should also be borne in mind that actual distinctions in the living standards of citizens are considerably less than differences in pay, because under mature socialism the accelerated growth of social consumption funds assumes ever greater importance. In the USSR these funds cover practically all expenditure on education and public health, and much of that for housing and cultural needs, as well as assistance in the upkeep of children, especially for large families, and so on. Whereas real per capita income grew 5.6 times between 1940 and 1979, payments and benefits from the social consumption funds rose by 17.4 times. In 1976-1980 alone such benefits per person rose by almost 24 per cent — from 354 rubles in 1975 to 438 rubles in 1980. In 1981-85 a 20 per cent increase is provided in social consumption funds.

Advancement toward the communist ideal — full social equality, including equal material and cultural advantages — can be achieved only through the growth of labor productivity and the quantity and quality of the goods and services produced. The latter is ensured by a consistent and flexible pursuit of the socialist principle of distribution, according to the quantity and quality of labor, with regard for the complexity of the work, the worker's skill, working conditions and other such factors.

The intensification of material incentives in the industries of material production causes the growth of workers' wages and necessarily entails a gradual pulling up of pay also in public services and administration.

Thus, the enhancement of the organic coherence and dynamic evolution of the system of social-class relations under mature socialism is an objective process having profound inner dialectics. The party's policy, being the core of the subjective factor of social life, is a powerful instrument for systematic guidance of this process, its acceleration in the direction of overcoming the remaining social-class distinctions and achieving the social homogeneity of society. "In evaluating the experience of our society's development over the past few decades," said Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th Congress, "I think we can assume that a classless society will take shape mainly within the historical framework of mature socialism."

This thesis, advanced for the first time in Marxist-Leninist theory, substantially enriches the conception of mature socialism set forth in party documents. The goals set for Soviet social scientists by the 26th Congress call for profound studies concerning the correctness of this conclusion, and provide the administrative bodies with important help in carrying out the social policy of the party. □

*PART FIVE:**To and From the Congress*

15

TATYANA SAVINA

The Precongress Discussion as Reflected in the Soviet Press

Nationwide discussions of major party and state initiatives are a long-standing tradition in the Soviet Union, and now also a norm contained in the Constitution. The aim of such discussions is to find out the opinions of Soviet people and have the benefit of their suggestions and criticisms so as to supplement and adjust the draft of this or that important law or program of development.

As a rule the discussion of such documents goes on throughout the country with the active participation of millions of people. This occurs because the main aim of these drafts is to improve the living conditions of all Soviet people without exception. Not only questions of housing, medical services, education, but also those of economics, planning and management, labor organization and ecology become a matter of personal, serious concern to great numbers of people.

The latest example was the discussion of the draft prepared by the CPSU Central Committee for the 26th congress of the CPSU, the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990, in which more than 121 million people took part. The discussion continued for two and a half months, up to February 23, when the congress opened. There were hundreds of thousands of party, trade union and Komsomol meetings. The draft was discussed thoroughly at party conferences and congresses in regions and republics of the country. The working people expressed their views and ideas about the prospects of Soviet society, and gave deep thought to every point in the draft, developing and substantiating its ideas.

The mass media gave comprehensive coverage to the discussion. All 8,000

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newspapers in the country regularly published readers' letters under headings such as "Discussing the Draft," "My Comment," "My Proposal," "My Line in the Five Year Plan." Their authors were workers, collective farmers, party officials, statesmen, trade unionists, scientists and engineers, students, retired people and housewives. Their most important suggestions were incorporated in the final text of the document which was then submitted for discussion and approval at the 26th Congress. Other proposals and suggestions were forwarded to the respective ministries, scientific institutions, planning agencies and party and government bodies so concrete steps could be taken.

The Draft Guidelines contains a provision concerning wider use of special-purpose integrated programs as organic components of state and long-term plans of economic and social development. According to A. Dmitriyev, D.Sc. (Philosophy), this approach gears the entire system of planning to achieve the final national-economic results needed to meet the requirements of man and society. But he believes it necessary also to work out scientifically based indicators of social development which would increase effectiveness in such a novel field as planning of society's social development over long periods.

Greater attention to special-purpose programs is also accounted for by the growing complexity of the structure of the Soviet economy, emergence of new industries (over 100 in the past 30 years) and the growing number of problems which cannot be solved by one ministry or region alone. Besides, as V. Kirichenko, director of the Scientific Research Economic Institute of the USSR State Planning Committee, wrote in *Pravda*, these programs make it possible to concentrate the resources and the efforts of particular economic links on the key problems.

Siberia, where one in every seven rubles of state investment will be spent under the current five year plan, was one of the focal points in the discussion. There were many comments, initiatives and criticisms concerning as yet inadequate attention given to the region. The comprehensive program for developing Siberia put forward by the party will help to develop a vast territory equal to the area of dozens of medium-sized states. And this, as N. Buryankov from Nizhne-Vartovsk in Western Siberia wrote to the *Trud* editorial board, will not just mean developing new mineral deposits, but will also ensure the preservation of valuable types of plants and animals and improve the working and living conditions of the people.

A reader of *Pravda* from Ufa in the Bashkir Autonomous Republic built a model of an electrically powered "dirigible" which he views as irreplaceable in the conditions of Siberia. This "dirigible," connected with the ground by contact wires like an airborne trolleybus, is very economical according to its designer, and cuts transportation costs. It can deliver cargo rapidly and does

not need motor roads which are very costly to build and maintain in Siberian conditions.

Among the special-purpose programs primary importance is attached to the food program. It envisages considerable expansion of the production of food and agricultural raw materials, a 12 to 14 per cent increase over the previous five years. Though this task has always been a focus of the Soviet economy, what is new is the approach to solving food problems. The Guidelines does not have the traditional section, "Agriculture." Its place has been taken by the section, "Development of the Agro-Industrial Complex," which calls for integrating questions of developing agriculture and the service industries. A great many letters discussed what should be done to ensure rapid and effective realization of the food program with its integrated approach.

Some readers saw the key in a more rational strategy of siting agricultural productive forces by economic zones. In the view of Sh. Yusipov, chairman of the Chembilevsky collective farm in the Gorky region, writing in the newspaper *Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya*, this is a problem which must be studied seriously by the State Planning Committee. Academician N. Tikhonov, writing in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, agreed. The time has come, he said, to abandon the universal structure of agricultural production and begin to form specialized zones producing commercial output.

But the main aspect of the matter lies in something else—the need to give much more thought to the consumer. Many criticisms were expressed against the "dictatorship of the producer." As I. Nikiforov from Khabarovsk, in the Far East, wrote in the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, "it is necessary to revise in principle the system of relationships between collective and state farms and all their partners. Today the producer in fact dominates over the consumer and this entails great extra costs, losses and imbalances."

The Soviet people also associate the growth of national wealth with improvement of economic management. Rates of growth of industry, agriculture and working people's well-being depend to a great extent on how closely the structure of economic management is attuned to raising efficiency of production and accelerating progress in science and technology. Many readers raised questions related to management of particular branches. Which ministries should there be, what is their optimal number and should new ones be formed? The discussion dealt with profound problems of economic management requiring analysis of an entire complex of related questions, and impossible to solve overnight.

1. Cherevko and N. Dmitriyev, both doctors of science in economics from the Lvov, Ukraine branch of the Institute of Economics, USSR Academy of Sciences, proposed in *Pravda* that "All social production should be subordi-

nated to 21 big ministries, each not only producing output but also developing and manufacturing specialized equipment for its production. The Ministry of Agriculture, for example, will have not only to grow crops, raise cattle, conduct forestry and farm production and catch fish, but also to produce the machinery for this, from grain harvesters to garden cutters and fishing tackle."

This idea evoked a conflict of judgments, some voting for and others against. In the view of Leningrad engineer A. Pakhomov, a radical restructuring of economic management would cost tens of millions of rubles. These expenditures could be afforded only if the new structure offered definite advantages, which according to him, it does not.

F. Karkayev, from Orenberg in the Southern Urals, wrote, "To my mind, the USSR occupies the first place in the world in the number of ministries per capita," to which Moscovite A. Banin countered that it is necessary to divide ministries and set up new ones, particularly in mining. The question is still open, but the debate has undoubtedly helped stimulate a serious analysis of the matter.

The Guidelines states, "Work is the only source of multiplying national wealth." "It is not enough to say that this source is work," wrote A. Gobayev, a foreman from the Gazoapparat plant in Ordzhonikidze, Northern Caucasus, in the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya*. "I suggest a more precise formulation: Only conscientious work for the good of society."

This idea is shared by G. Popov, a professor at Moscow University, who wrote in *Pravda* that in socialist society which does not have unemployment a clear distinction should be drawn between the right to work and the right to skilled work. Then, he believes, one would not only be really earning and valuing the ruble, but also valuing one's workplace. The right to skilled, creative work must be earned, he said, and the certificate of education should not be a guarantee to such work.

However, many readers strongly disagreed with the professor, saying that the right to work, to choose a profession or occupation is a new gain of developed socialism written down in the USSR Constitution. It is a different matter, they said, if we try to solve the problem by fostering a conscientious and responsible attitude to work and the workplace, by aligning the remuneration of labor more closely with its results.

Joining this discussion, P. Bunich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, wrote to *Izvestia* that we should speak not just of a close link between wages and the ultimate results of work, but more emphatically stress the direct dependence of payment for labor on its social evaluation and the labor contribution made by each person.

B. Bavarene, head of a team of forge operators at the Kaunas, Lithuania experimental works producing automation equipment, suggested adding these

words to the draft Guidelines: "Slackers and those violating the norms of socialist society shall be deprived of the right to enjoy benefits from the social funds." Many readers agreed, for guaranteed rights to free medical service, education, professional training and provision of housing free of charge are the result of the operation of the just principles of socialism. And the main principle, as these readers wrote, is the duty to work to the best of one's abilities.

Some readers objected to closer connection between payments from the social funds and conscientious attitudes to work. Their argument was that Soviet citizens as working people draw wages and salaries depending on the quantity and quality of their labor, and as co-owners of the means of production they enjoy benefits from the social funds irrespective of the results of their work.

The majority of readers, however, argued that Soviet people, being at one and the same time workers and owners of the means of production, cannot remain indifferent towards those who break labor discipline, for the growth of social consumption funds, too, depends above all on the quantity and quality of work done by the people as a whole and each one of them in particular.

Questions affecting families with children also received considerable attention. "Women are particularly glad to see those clauses of the document which envisage greater state benefits for families with children and for newly-weds," M. Akhmedova, a worker at the Central Asian collective farm "October," wrote in *Pravda*. She proposed adding the words, "especially to families with many children." L. Valkova, a reader of *Izvestia* from Vinnitsa, Ukraine, thought that material benefits should be granted to all women having three children (these are now enjoyed by families with a monthly per capita income of less than 52 rubles, or about \$80). V. Klimenko, a carpenter from the town of Smely in the Ukraine, thought the draft should be more specific concerning giving women with small children an opportunity to work shorter hours. He proposed adding the words, "To reduce by one hour the working day for mothers with small children."

A. Zlain, a reader of *Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya* from Moscow, suggested that the Guidelines should reflect the demand for a speedier extension of the network of nurseries and kindergartens.

Many letters were devoted to questions of health care. B. Pereviznaya from Beltsy, Moldavia, wrote, "I propose that provisions be made for compulsory preventive medical examination of the entire population." V. Molotkov from Petrozavodsk, Karelian Autonomous Republic, suggested adding, "To develop and improve all medical rehabilitation links, putting the respective clinics under the control of a definite center." An important problem was

raised by those readers who suggested setting up an emergency cardiology service in all towns with more than 300,000 inhabitants. The widely known experience of the Lithuanian town of Kaunas with its innovative cardiological preventive service shows that this service organized on the scale of the whole country could save hundreds of thousands of lives.

During the Tenth Five Year Plan period (1976–1980) the total allocation for environmental protection in the country amounted to about 26 billion rubles.

Some readers believe that any economic activity including further development of industry and construction should be subjected to ecological expertise, and that nature conservation work is part of people's general education.

Others propose raising the degree of responsibility on the part of designers for the strict observance of the law on nature protection, and introducing ecological education at schools, from the first grade through graduation.

The Guidelines envisage the launching of large-scale state measures for diverting the flow of some northern rivers to the Volga basin. There are opposing views on the matter.

B. Laskorin, chairman of the All-Union Scientific and Technical Society for Environmental Protection, wrote in *Trud*, "I think that these recommendations are premature, all the more so since the diversion of rivers from the northern regions to the south will not fully solve the problem. It would be wiser to confine ourselves to more modest tasks for the next few years: speed the scientific and technical feasibility study substantiating the permissibility and expediency of a partial redirection of northern rivers to the south."

G. Voropayev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Scientific Council of the USSR for Science and Technology on Integrated Problems of the Caspian Sea, on the other hand, believes that during the Eleventh Five Year Plan period, it is necessary not only to complete the blueprint stage but also to start building the canals of the first stage for diverting the waters of northern rivers to the Volga basin.

From even a brief summary, it is evident that readers raised a wide range of questions, recommendations and amendments. Many were incorporated into the final text of the draft.

As L. I. Brezhnev said at the Congress, "The proprietary interest taken by millions of working people in the Party's socioeconomic plans and their concern for affairs of the state are an expression of the genuinely democratic nature of the Soviet system. This is an important guarantee of the successful fulfillment of our plans." □

16

A Sampling of Letters

Following are excerpts from a few of the letters commenting on the Draft Guidelines, which appeared in Izvestia, the nationally circulated newspaper of the Soviet government, during January 1981. Translations are by Dora Perks.

Nature and the Economy: "Blue Arteries"

Once I was returning from the provincial center. Suddenly the wind blew and the sky was covered by a cloud of dust. People stopped on the road and waited, or traveled farther, breathing with difficulty. A dust storm in the Angara area is not rare now, especially in the Kuda Steppes. Out of 300,000 hectares of land, nearly one-third is subject to erosion.

The old-timers of our area did not know about dust storms. So what's happening? The problem is that in the Kuda river basin in the Angaro-Lenskoye watershed, a timber-felling area has been established. During the last 20 years the forested area has been decreased by more than ten per cent. Countless gentle rivers have become shallow.

The combined water area of the rivers Kuda, Ida, Osa, Ilga and Kulenga comprises about 8,000 square kilometers. Along them stretch protective forest belts from 500 to 1,000 meters wide. When they began to cut down the forest, they figured there was quite enough of it to protect the rivers. Time has shown, however, that the theoreticians were mistaken.

It was logical to expect that timber felling would be halted as soon as it was discovered what it was leading to. The trouble is, however, that these sections are allotted to various government purveyors. For them, Siberia is like the Klondike laden with trees. Every year they prepare tens of thousands of cubic meters of wood.

More than once we appealed to the organizations of the republic to discontinue the forest exploitation area in the watershed and to remove the forest raw material base to other regions. There are many regions in the Irkutsk district where it is not only possible but necessary to fell wood, because it has matured and has been left to stand too long. Our request is supported by specialists from the district forestry office.

However, the RSFSR Ministry of Forestry has a different opinion. They are convinced that the forest exploitation in the Angaro-Lenskoye watershed cannot substantially affect the water situation of the region. It's as if you can't believe your own eyes when the dust storms rage and the rivers become more

shallow each year. The annual precipitation in the autonomous area is not large — from 144 to 158 millimeters, and the curve of the Kuda's annual flow shows that from the beginning of the 1960s, the river carried off five million cubic meters less of water each year. It isn't hard to compute how many years are required for the Kuda to disappear.

And although we have prohibited the rooting out of forests for development of new land, such one-sided measures are of little use.

The time has come to stop cutting down forests in the name of the development of a large-scale agricultural area in the Angara region.

N. Agarkov

First Secretary of the Ust-Ordinski
Buryat District of the Communist Party;
Deputy to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet

Supplying Spare Parts

The members of our team approve the provision in the Guidelines about improving the quality of repair and maintenance of technical equipment. The fact that Alexander Aganin, Yury Pchelintsev and I, with our assistants, using three "Kolos" combines, threshed 18,200 tons of wheat during the last five year plan is a tribute to the careful, prompt preparation of machines for the harvest, and their faultless performance in the field.

However, because of the shortage of spare parts, it is not always possible to prepare combines and other machines properly and on time. Therefore, in the section of the Guidelines which discusses technical re-equipping of agriculture and delivery of machines, I propose the following addition: "increase the production and delivery of spare parts to collective and state farms."

V. Glavin

Field team leader, Sarayevskii State Farm,
Sarayevskii District, Ryazan Region

Paying Agricultural Workers

The Draft Guidelines emphasizes the concept that the amount collective farmers are paid be dependent on final results and productivity of the work, and the quality of the products. This measure will help increase the yield of the fields and the effectiveness of animal husbandry, and will decrease the losses of agricultural products.

In addition, we consider that it is necessary to make payment for workers in all services connected with agriculture — especially those employed by the Government Committee on Agriculture and by government purveying and agrochemical organizations — directly dependent on the end products of the fields and farms.

R. Karimov

Machine operator, Kuibyshev Collective Farm,
Deputy to the Regional Soviet,
Kushnarenkovsky Region, Bashkir Autonomous SSR

The Importance of Educating Teachers

In the 1920s little more than 1.5 per cent of Uzbekistan's native population could read and write. The first teachers' college was founded in Tashkent in 1920, and soon after, on Lenin's initiative, the Turkestan University was organized. Today, 14 pedagogical institutes and 35 pedagogical colleges, as well as the universities, prepare teachers for the republic's schools.

The school today is completely different from that of several years ago. It is an institution with a complicated teaching-learning mechanism, equipped with modern technical means of instruction, supplies, study rooms and laboratories.

In the years of the Ninth and Tenth Five-Year Plans, the number of students in Uzbekistan's schools grew by more than a million, extended day programs became more widespread, and work continued for organizing full-day schools. These are quantitative indications, but the qualitative side is no less important. Faculties and classes for the intensive study of science were set up, for all-round development of the creative abilities of students.

Under conditions of general secondary education, the social function of the school increases. The Draft Guidelines states that it is necessary "to improve the forms and methods of vocational education in the middle school." In this, the schools will have active help from the party and the soviets, the Komsomol, enterprises and collective farms. In Uzbekistan it has long been the custom for collective farms to assist the schools with their own resources, and to help equip them as well as possible. Collective and state farms as well as enterprises take an active part in organizing vocational education, which is understandable because the republic's economy depends directly on the school.

The teacher is the chief figure in popular education. The way in which our children grow depends on his knowledge and ideological conviction, on his talent and ability.

Certainly it is necessary to emphasize in the Draft Guidelines the discussion about improving the effectiveness of the preparation of cadres. We have schools where the student body includes young men and women of 16 different nationalities.

I think the following should be included in the Guidelines: "Concern about the quality of the preparation of teachers is especially important in the multinational republics. It can be said that it is the foundation of widespread universal education."

S. Shermukhamedov

Minister of Education, Uzbek SSR, and
Deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet

Construction: The Responsibility of Managers

To me, as a construction worker, the lines in the Draft Guidelines about the necessity of providing every family with a separate apartment in the next ten years are especially significant. We will accomplish this only if we adopt the best of accumulated experience.

Take only three of our departments at Ishimbaizhilstroi trust, which is in charge of housing construction in the city of Sterlitamak. Last year, for example, we had to build and put into operation almost 63,000 square meters of housing. The plan was fulfilled, on the whole. But how? In three-fourths of the time, half — and in December, also half. Rush work, poor quality.

Many reasons can be given, but we think the main one was slipshod planning and mistakes in the organization of work. There were dozens of cases where we had to finish houses, the commissioning of which was not planned this year, or to complete work on a large scale which "they forgot" to foresee in the plan, etc.

An addition to the Draft Guidelines is obviously needed, in the section about strengthening the responsibility of construction organizations, and guaranteeing the quality of project estimating, as follows: "to increase the responsibility of managers for the correctness of construction plans and for the putting into operation of living quarters."

E. Gorshenina

Plasterer, Ishimbaizhilstroi Trust,
Sterlitamak, Bashkir Autonomous SSR

A Club Lights Up the Community

Much has been done, especially in recent years, to develop the cultural activities of the Ossetian people. There is probably not a single populated area in the republic today without a house of culture, a club, or a library. The four theaters of North Ossetia, the philharmonic orchestra, the 175 houses of culture and clubs, and the 22 cinemas can simultaneously accommodate 60,000 people — that is, every tenth inhabitant of the republic. And if you add to this the 504 libraries with their combined collection of about 11 million books, it is evident what wealth we have at our disposal. At every step we are assured of the concern for development of cultural and educational institutions in the localities.

Many farms and industrial enterprises help to repair village cultural institutions. Collective and state farm resources spent for this last year totaled 200,000 rubles. Considerable help was provided for acquiring costumes for participants in amateur artistic activities, as well as furniture and technical equipment. Five new houses of culture were built with collective farm resources during the current five year plan.

It is evident that the prestige of cultural workers has grown. Nevertheless, it is clear that the general level of the staff lags behind today's demands. For example, people working in clubs and houses of culture most often have completed eight or nine grades of general education.

There is an Ossetian department of the philological faculty at the North Ossetian University. In the republic there is an overproduction of these specialists. Simultaneously, we have an extreme shortage of librarians with a good knowledge of the language, literature and art of the Ossetian people. The profession of librarian should be added to the curriculum of this department. The university supports the idea, but the Ministry of Higher and Middle Special Education of the RSFSR has turned it down. In several union republics, faculties of cultural education have already been created. I think it is time to begin preparing cultural workers in the universities of the autonomous republics and areas.

Production of national musical instruments is an important question. Accordions are very popular among us. Ours are basically different in sound from the Kazan accordions, but we are lavishly supplied with only the Kazan type. Specialists have made experimental versions of an accordion corresponding to the tastes and traditions of the Caucasian and Transcaucasian peoples, taking the Leningrad *bayan* as a model. However, factories refuse to put it into production. It is necessary that one of the musical instrument factories specialize in production of this national musical instrument.

At this time the cultural workers of North Ossetia are carefully studying the Draft Guidelines. It contains words that directly concern us: "To improve the

activity of cultural-educational institutions. To extend the chain of popular libraries and clubs, to elevate their role as centers of amateur creative activity of workers and as places to spend leisure time" I would like to insert an addition: "To draw attention to the preparation of highly qualified cadres, and to improve the supply of musical instruments and their transportation to club organizations."

G. Cherchesov
Minister of Culture, Northern Ossetian
Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic

17

Report of the Central Auditing Commission

The following is an excerpt from the commission's report, delivered by its chairman, Gennady Sizov.

In fulfilling its functions under the Party Rules, the Central Auditing Commission has played an active part in solving the tasks set by the 25th Congress.

The Party Rules stipulate that it is the duty of the Commission to supervise the expeditious and proper handling of affairs by central party bodies and to audit the accounts of the treasury and the enterprises of the CPSU Central Committee. The commission conducted its activities in strict conformity with these requirements. It worked according to a plan. The commission has also rendered much practical assistance to the auditing commissions of local party organizations.

One of the Central Auditing Commission's basic duties is to ensure proper control of revenues coming to the party budget and their correct expenditure.

The party's revenues come from membership dues, deductions from the profits of party publishing activities and other incomes. Membership dues make up an annual average of two-thirds of the party's revenue. In the period under review the income has increased considerably through membership dues and party publishing activities.

As is well known, payment of membership dues is one of the foremost duties of every party and candidate member. It helps in their political education and raises organizational standards and discipline in primary organizations.

In the period under review the Central Committees of union republics and regional and district party committees have notably improved their handling of the receiving and accounting of membership dues. Checks show that the overwhelming majority of party and candidate members are paying their dues monthly and properly. Some party members, however, have fallen into arrears for various reasons. There are still cases of dues not being paid according to full earnings, which is inadmissible.

Our party has great financial and material resources from which allocations are made for maintenance of party organs, for them to carry on organizational, propaganda and political work, for training party cadre, economic and other activities. All these expenses are defrayed from party funds without any state

subsidies.

Inspections by the Central Auditing Commission and auditing commissions of local party organizations showed that party budget allocations were spent in full compliance with the approved allocations. At the same time, in several city and district committees, there was overexpenditure of allocations for the upkeep of the party apparatus and for economic needs. Heads of some party committees, in violation of Leninist principles of modesty, spent extra money for furnishing their offices, permitting themselves extravagance in this matter. Such occurrences show a lack of financial discipline in some party committees.

Regional and territorial party committees and Central Committees of republican Communist Parties must take resolute measures to establish strict order in spending party funds.

The auditing commissions of party organizations should be more severe in eliminating violations which have been revealed.

An immense amount was done in the past period to further strengthen and develop socialist democracy, to do away with bureaucracy and red tape at all levels of the managing apparatus. This found its expression, in particular, in handling of letters, statements and complaints from citizens and in arranging to receive callers.

When they address party organs, Soviet people inform them of the life of their republics, regions, work collectives, and of personal concerns and needs. They criticize shortcomings and omissions in the activities of our organizations and their heads, thus helping party committees to judge objectively the effectiveness of decisions and practical measures and to eliminate the causes of shortcomings in their work. In the period under review the CPSU Central Committee received over three million letters. Nearly 100,000 people visited the Central Committee's inquiry and reception office.

The increased number of letters and the high sense of civic duty they reflect speak of the political maturity of the people and their dedication to the party's cause.

Great concern for state affairs is also reflected in letters of citizens who criticize violations of the principles of socialist morality and of Soviet laws, which cause material or moral damage to society. This demonstrates people's sense of being genuine masters of the country and their active interest in life.

The Central Committee and Leonid Brezhnev personally pay great attention to the handling of letters, emphasizing their social and political importance as one of the forms of a close bond between the party and the people.

In recent years the Central Committee has adopted a series of resolutions to improve work with letters and the reception of citizens. It has set up a special department for handling letters. All this made it possible to raise this work to a

higher level and to give it a more systematic and planned character.

About 300,000 letters from working people were studied at Central Committee departments after the 25th Party Congress. This number is constantly growing. Central Committee departments put under their control the execution of decisions relating to at least half the letters received. Control connected with the rest of the letters is exercised by the organizations entrusted with giving answers. All letters, with rare exceptions, are considered within a fixed period of time and their authors receive detailed and well-reasoned replies.

The suggestions and wishes of those who wrote to the Central Committee were taken into account in preparation of several of its decisions.

In the period under review the Central Auditing Commission checked the handling of letters in the editorial offices of the newspapers *Sovetskaya Rossiya* and *Selskaya Zhizn* and the magazines *Kommunist* and *Politicheskoye Samoobrazovaniye*. There, together with good results, serious shortcomings were revealed.

The party press must improve its handling of letters from working people, devote more space to them in the pages of newspapers and magazines, give readers details of red tape and bureaucracy and of the struggle against them.

Recently, many regional and territorial committees and central committees of Union Republics have greatly improved their handling of letters and the reception of citizens.

But, as auditing commissions' inspections have shown, there are still instances of a formal and negligent attitude towards citizens' legitimate rights, and unfounded refusal to meet their requests or delay in answering letters. There are cases of complaints which receive proper attention only when raised a second time and after intervention by higher bodies. Working people's critical reaction to shortcomings sometimes evokes a hostile reaction from some responsible persons, who attempt to persecute the authors of justified criticism. Such an attitude is strongly censured by the Central Committee and local party organs, and is criticized in the party press. Any well-grounded suggestion, request or complaint should receive close attention and an appropriate decision should follow. This must become a law for leading party figures of all ranks and positions. □



Appendices

1

The Credentials Report in Numbers

The data below are adapted from the report to the Congress by Ivan Kapitonov, chairman of the Credentials Committee. Similar data from the 25th Congress, held in 1976, are provided for purposes of comparison.

	25th Congress		26th Congress	
	Number	% of total	Number	% of total
Delegates	4,998	100.0	5,002	100.0
Delegates for the first time	3,672	73.5	3,572	71.4
From the Union Republics				
RSFSR	3,035	60.7	3,003	60.0
Ukraine	894	17.9	896	17.9
Kazakhstan	218	4.4	221	4.4
Byelorussia	172	3.4	183	3.7
Uzbekistan	159	3.2	166	3.3
Georgia	107	2.5	106	2.1
Azerbaijhan	96	1.9	98	2.0
Latvia	51	1.0	52	1.0
Lithuania	49	1.0	52	1.0
Armenia	47	0.9	48	1.0
Moldavia	44	0.9	48	1.0
Kirghizia	3	0.7	37	0.7
Tadzhikistan	32	0.6	32	0.6
Estonia	30	0.6	32	0.6
Turkmenia	27	0.5	28	0.6
Industrial workers	1,703	34.1	1,370	27.4
Agricultural workers	887	17.7	877	17.5
Managers of enterprises, production associations, combines, etc.	346	6.9	609	12.2
Intelligentsia (scientists, writers, artists, teachers, etc.)	272	5.4	269	5.4

Acadicians, Corresponding Members of Academies of Science	103	2.1	118	2.4
Party Workers	1,114	22.3	1,077	21.5
Secretaries of area, city and district Party committees	635	12.7	589	11.8
Women	1,255	25.1	1,329	26.6
Up to 35 years of age	—	12.5*	—	12.2
36–50	—	58.0**	—	50.4
51–60	—	19.7	—	25.7
Over 60	—	9.8	—	11.7
Time of joining Party				
Before 1917		6	0.1	
1917–1941		264	5.3	
During Great Patriotic War		461	9.2	
In postwar period		4,271	85.4	
In last 15 years		1,637	32.7	
Doctors and Candidates of Science	442	8.8	498	10.0
Heroes of the Soviet Union	67	1.3	57	1.1
Heroes of Socialist Labor	979	15.9	670	13.4
Lenin and State Prize Winners	244	4.9	342	6.8

*Under 35 years of age

**35–50

2

**Members of the Political Bureau of the CPSU
Central Committee**

BREZHNEV, LEONID ILYICH (born December 19, 1906 in Kamenskoe village, now Dneprodzerzhinsk). General Secretary CPSU Central Committee, Chairman Presidium USSR Supreme Soviet. Member Politbureau of Central Committee since April 1966. Chairman USSR Defense Council. Marshal of the Soviet Union. Member CPSU since 1931.

Born into a steel worker's family, studied land management and reclamation in Kursk in 1927, worked as land management expert in Byelorussia and the Kursk province, later heading district land management department, then deputy chief land management administration of Uralsk region. Graduated from Dneprodzerzhinsk Metallurgical Institute in 1935; worked as an engineer at a plant. Held high positions in technical education, local party and government bodies. In 1939, became secretary Dnepropetrovsk Regional Committee Ukrainian Communist Party. During World War II and up to 1946 was deputy chief and then chief of political administration of a war front, chief of army political department and later of political administration of a military district. In 1946–47 first secretary Zaporozhe and then Dnepropetrovsk regional committees Ukrainian Communist Party. From 1950 to 1952, first secretary Central Committee Moldavian Communist Party. In 1952–53, secretary CPSU Central Committee. After several years as second and then first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, became secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. In 1960, became Chairman Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet and in 1963 and 1964 also secretary CPSU Central Committee. After two years as first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee he was made General Secretary CC CPSU and in June 1977, Chairman Presidium USSR Supreme Soviet. From June 1957 to April 1966, member Presidium CPSU Central Committee. Deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet (third to tenth convocations*). In 1965–67 member Presidium USSR Supreme Soviet. His awards include Hero of Socialist Labor (1961) and Hero of the Soviet Union three times; International Lenin Prize "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations" (1973) and the highest award of the World Peace Council, the Joliot-Curie Gold Medal of Peace (1975); among numerous top awards won a Lenin prize for his books *Little Land, Resurrection* and *The Virgin Lands*, and for his tireless work for peace (1979).

ANDROPOV, YURI VLADIMIROVICH (born June 15, 1914 in Nagutskaya Village, Stavropol Territory). Member CC CPSU Politbureau since April 1973. Chairman USSR State Security since 1967. Member CPSU since 1939, and CC CPSU since 1961.

After graduating from waterway transport school, in 1936 attended Petrozavodsk

*All Political Bureau members have been repeatedly elected Deputy to the Supreme Soviet.

University and Higher Party School of CC CPSU. Began working life as telegraph worker in 1930. A Young Communist League functionary, he was first secretary YCL Central Committee of Karelian-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic, and official in CC CPSU. After four years in diplomatic service, became secretary CC CPSU. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet. Hero of Socialist Labor.

GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL SERGEYEVICH (born March 2, 1931 in Privilnoye Village, Stavropol Territory). Member Politbureau CC CPSU since October 1980. Secretary CC CPSU. Member CPSU since 1952.

Graduated from Moscow University in 1955 and correspondence department Stavropol Institute of Agriculture in 1967, meanwhile working as assistant combine harvester driver in Stavropol Territory. Since 1955 first secretary Stavropol City YCL Committee. In 1960's became department head Stavropol Territory CPSU Committee, first secretary Stavropol Territory Party Committee. Member CC CPSU since 1971 and secretary CC CPSU since 1978. In 1979-80, alternate member Politbureau CC CPSU Central Committee. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet.

GRISHIN, VIKTOR VASSILIYEVICH (born September 18, 1914 in Serpukhov). Member Politbureau CC CPSU since April 1971. First Secretary Moscow City Party Committee. Member CPSU since 1939.

Graduated from Moscow Geodesic School in 1932 and from Locomotive Maintenance School in 1937. While studying worked as land management technician. In 1937-38 deputy superintendent locomotive repair shop in Serpukhov.

In 1938-40 served in Soviet Army and then worked at Serpukhov locomotive repair shop. In 1941-42 secretary Party Committee at Serpukhov railway station. Rose to become first secretary Serpukhov City Party Committee. After two years heading mechanical engineering department of Moscow Party Committee, became its second secretary. In 1965-67, chairman All-Union Central Trade Union Council, then first secretary Moscow City Party Committee. Member CC CPSU since 1952. In 1961-66, alternate member Presidium CC CPSU, in 1966-71, alternate member Politbureau. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet since 1967. Hero of Socialist Labor.

GROMYKO, ANDREI ANDREYEVICH (born July 18, 1909 in Starye Gromyki Village, Gomel region). Member Politbureau CPSU Central Committee since April 1973. Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. Member CPSU since 1931.

Holds degree Doctor of Science (Economics) from All-Union (USSR) Research Institute of Agriculture. From 1936 to 1939 researcher at Economics Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences. In diplomatic service since 1939. In 1943-46 Soviet ambassador to USA, and envoy to Republic of Cuba. In 1946-48 permanent Soviet representative in UN Security Council. In 1946-49, deputy foreign minister, then first deputy foreign minister of the USSR. In 1952-53, ambassador to Great Britain. Since 1957, foreign minister of the USSR. In 1952 became alternate member CPSU Central Committee, in 1956, member CC CPSU. Deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Twice Hero of Socialist Labor.

KIRIENKO, ANDREI PAVLOVICH (born September 8, 1906 in Alekseyevka, Belgorod region). Member Politbureau CC CPSU since April 1966. Secretary CC CPSU. Member CPSU since 1931.

Graduated from Rybinsk Aeronautical Institute in 1936. Began working as a fitter in 1925. In 1929-30 a senior YCL functionary and government official. Later worked as design engineer at plant in Zaporozhe. In 1938 second secretary Voroshilovsk District Committee; secretary and second secretary Zaporozhe Regional Committee Ukrainian Communist Party. In 1941-44 member of Army Military Council and a Factory Defense Committee executive agent. Toward end of war and after, second secretary Zaporozhe Regional Committee Ukrainian Communist Party; first secretary Nikolayev Regional and City Committees, first secretary Dnepropetrovsk and then Sverdlovsk Regional Party Committee. Since April 1966, secretary CC CPSU. Alternate then full member Presidium CC CPSU. Member CC CPSU Bureau for Russian Federation. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet. Twice hero of Socialist Labor.

KUNAYEV, DINMUKHAMED AKHMEDOVICH (born January 12, 1912 in Alma-Ata). Member Politbureau CC CPSU since April 1971. First secretary Central Committee Kazakhstan Communist Party. Member CPSU since 1939.

Graduated from Moscow Institute of Non-Ferrous Metals and Gold in 1936. Holds degree Doctor of Science (Engineering). President Kazakh Academy of Sciences. In 1936-42, worked at non-ferrous metals enterprises in Kazakhstan in various leading posts. Deputy chairman, then chairman Council of Ministers Kazakh Republic. Member CC CPSU since 1956. In 1966-71, alternate member Politbureau CC CPSU, member bureau Central Committee Kazakh Communist Party. Deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Member Presidium USSR Supreme Soviet since 1962. Twice Hero of Socialist Labor.

PELSHE, ARVID JANOVICH (born February 7, 1899 in Mazais, Latvia). Member Politbureau CC CPSU since April 1966. Chairman Party Control Committee CC CPSU. Member CPSU since 1915.

Graduated from Institute of Red Professors (for training teachers of social sciences for higher educational institutions) in 1931. Assistant professor and corresponding member Latvian Academy of Sciences since 1946. Began in 1914 as worker in Riga, taking part in underground party activities. In 1916 worked in Petrograd; elected deputy to Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in 1917. In 1919 took part in establishing Soviet power in Latvia, then held political posts in the Red Army and Navy till 1929. Afrer political work at state farms in the Kazakh Republic 1933-37 worked in People's Commissariat of USSR State Farms. Next worked in field of education in Moscow. After Latvia won Soviet power worked in Central Committee Latvian Communist party. Since 1966 chairman Party Control Committee CC CPSU. Member CC CPSU since 1961. Deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Twice Hero of Socialist Labor.

ROMANOV, GRIGORI VASSILIYEVICH (born February 7, 1923 in Zhuknovo village, Novgorod region). Member Politbureau CC CPSU since March 1976. First secretary Leningrad Regional Committee CPSU. Member CPSU since 1944.

Graduated from Leningrad Shipbuilding Institute. From 1941 to 1945 served in Soviet Army. In 1946-54, section head design bureau of Ministry of Shipbuilding. Secretary, then first secretary Kirovsky District Party Committee in Leningrad. In 1961-62, secretary Leningrad City Party Committee. Then first secretary Leningrad Regional Committee. Member CC CPSU since 1966. In 1973-76, alternate member Politbureau, CC CPSU. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet. Member Presidium USSR Supreme Soviet since November 1971.

SUSLOV, MIKHAIL ANDREYEVICH (born November 21, 1902 in Shakhovskoe Village). Member Politbureau CC CPSU since April 1966. Secretary CC CPSU. Member CPSU since 1921.

From 1918 to 1920 worked in Poor Peasant's Committee in Shakhovskoye village, Saratov region. Graduated in 1924 from Prechistensky Workers' School in Moscow and in 1928 from Plekhanov Institute of National Economy. Attended Economics Institute of Red Professors, while teaching at Moscow University and Industrial Academy. From 1931 to 1936 worked in Central Control Commission of All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), People's Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, Soviet Control Commission, USSR Council of People's Commissars. Subsequently, secretary Rostov Regional Party Committee. During World War II, member Military Council Northern Transcaucasian front and chief of staff Stavropol Territory partisan detachments. In 1944-46, chairman CC CPSU Bureau for Lithuanian Republic. Since 1947, secretary CC CPSU also, 1949-51, editor-in-chief of *Pravda*. In 1939-41, member Presidium CC CPSU. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet. In 1950-54, member Presidium USSR Supreme Soviet. Twice Hero of Socialist Labor.

TIKHONOV, NIKOLAY ALEXANDROVICH (born May 14, 1905 in Kharkov). Member Politbureau CPSU since November 1979. Chairman USSR Council of Ministers. Member CPSU since 1940.

After graduating from Dnepropetrovsk Communications School and from Metallurgical Institute in 1930, worked at plants in Dnepropetrovsk and Sverdlovsk regions as shop superintendent and chief engineer. Thereafter manager pipe-making factory in Nikopol. After heading Chief Administration USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, USSR deputy minister of Ferrous Metallurgy from 1955 to 1957.

In 1957, chairman Dnepropetrovsk National Economic Council; in 1963 vice-chairman State Scientific and Economic Council USSR Council of Ministers, holding rank of minister of the USSR. Then, vice-chairman USSR State Planning Committee, first vice-chairman USSR Council of Ministers. Chairman USSR Council of Ministers since October 1980. Alternate member CC CPSU 1961 to 1966. Full member since 1966. In 1978-79, alternate member politbureau CC CPSU. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet. Hero of Socialist Labor and winner of State Prizes.

USTINOV, DMITRI FYODOROVICH (born October 30, 1908 in Kuibyshev). Member Politbureau CC CPSU since March 1976. USSR Defense Minister. Marshal of the Soviet Union. Member CPSU since 1927.

After graduating from Leningrad Military Technology Institute in 1934, design

engineer at a research institute, head of a plant section, deputy chief designer, then plant manager. From 1941 to 1953, people's commissar and then minister USSR Munitions Industry. In 1944 received rank of colonel-general. In 1953-57, USSR Minister of Defense Industry. Next vice-chairman then first vice-chairman USSR Council of Ministers, chairman All-Union National Economic Council. In 1965-76, secretary CC CPSU. Since April 1976, USSR Defense Minister. State Prize winner. Member CC CPSU since 1952. Alternate member Presidium CC CPSU. In 1966-76 alternate member Politbureau CC CPSU. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet. Twice Hero of Socialist Labor; Hero of the Soviet Union.

CHERNENKO, KONSTANTIN USTINOVICH (born September 24, 1911 in Bolshaya Tes' village, Krasnoyarsk Territory). Member Politbureau CC CPSU since November 1978. Secretary CC CPSU. Member CPSU since 1931.

Graduated in 1945 from Higher Party Organizers School of CC CPSU and from Kishinev Pedagogical Institute in 1953. Since 1929 held important YCL, government and party posts: secretary Penza Regional Party Committee. In 1948-56 worked in Central Committee Moldavian Communist Party. Then held important posts in CC CPSU, and worked in Presidium USSR Supreme Soviet. Secretary CC CPSU. Alternate member CC CPSU now full member. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet. Twice Hero of Socialist Labor.

SHCHERBITSKY, VLADIMIR VASSILIYEVICH (born February 17, 1918 in Verkhnednepravsk, Dnepropetrovsk region). Member Politbureau CC CPSU since April 1971. First secretary Central Committee Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR. Member CPSU since 1941.

Graduated from Dnepropetrovsk Institute of Chemical Technology in 1941. Was a YCL functionary and in 1941-45 served in Soviet Army. In 1946 headed bureau at Dneprodzerzhinsk by-product coke plant. Since 1946 held important party and government posts, including second secretary Dneprodzerzhinsk City Party Committee. In 1952, appointed (by CPSU Central Committee) party organizer Dneprodzerzhinsk Metallurgical Works. Then, first secretary City Party Committee. Similar posts in Dnepropetrovsk Regional Committee, Ukrainian Communist Party. Secretary Central Committee Communist Party UKSSR. Chairman Ukrainian Council of Ministers. Since 1972, first secretary Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, member CC CPSU Central Auditing Commission. Member CC CPSU since 1961. In 1966-71 alternate member Politbureau CC CPSU. Member Politbureau Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet since 1972. Member presidium USSR Supreme Soviet since 1972. Twice Hero of Socialist Labor.

Alternate Members of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee

ALIYEV, GEIDAR ALIYEVICH (born May 10, 1923 in Nakhichevan). Alternate member Politbureau CC CPSU since March 1976. First secretary Central Committee Communist Party of Azerbaijan. Member CPSU since 1946.

Graduated from Azerbaidzhan University (department of history) in 1957. Held important posts in Council of People's Commissars and state security bodies in Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Later, chairman State Security Committee Council of Ministers of Azerbaidzhan. First secretary Central Committee Azerbaidzhanian Communist Party, member CC CPSU. Member Central Committee Bureau Azerbaidzhanian Communist Party. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet. Hero of Socialist Labor.

DEMICHENKO, PYOTR NILOVICH (born January 3, 1918 in Pesochnaya village, now Kirov, Kaluga region). Alternate member Politbureau CC CPSU since April 1966. Minister of Culture, USSR. Member CPSU since 1939.

Graduated from Mendeleyev Institute of Chemical Technology in Moscow in 1944, and Higher CC CPSU School (correspondence course) 1953. In 1937-44 served in Soviet Army. In 1944-45 taught and did research at Mendeleyev Institute of Chemical Technology. From 1945 was functionary in Moscow city and regional party committees. In 1961-74 secretary CC CPSU. Since November 1974, USSR Minister of Culture. In 1964-66, alternate member Presidium CC CPSU. Member CPSU Central Committee Bureau for Russian Federation. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet. In 1962-66, member Presidium USSR Supreme Soviet.

KISELEV, TIKHON YAKOVLEVICH (born August 12, 1917, Byelorussia). Alternate member Politbureau CPSU since October 1980. First secretary Central Committee Byelorussian Communist Party. Member CPSU since 1940.

Graduated from correspondence department Gomel Pedagogical Institute in 1941 and Higher Party School CPSU Central Committee in 1946. Worked in field of education. Since 1944 has held various high party posts including department head, secretary, Central Committee Byelorussian Communist Party. During 1959-80, chairman Byelorussian Council of Ministers, then vice-chairman USSR Council of Ministers. Since 1980, first secretary CC Byelorussian Communist Party. Member CPSU Central Committee since 1961; member Bureau CC Byelorussian Communist Party. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet. Hero of Socialist Labor.

KUZNETSOV, VASSILY VASSILIYEVICH (born February 13, 1901 in Sofilovka village, Kostroma region). Alternate member Politbureau CC CPSU since October 1977. First Vice-Chairman Presidium USSR Supreme Soviet. Since 1955 First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs USSR. Member CPSU since 1927.

Graduated from Leningrad Polytechnical Institute in 1926. Worked at steel plants as engineer, shop superintendent, laboratory chief, and in Ferrous Metallurgy Commissariat. During thirties, for practice and learning US technical skills worked in Pennsylvania steel plant. In 1940-43 vice-chairman State Planning Committee. In 1944 chairman All-Union Central Trade Union Council. Since October 1977, first vice-chairman Presidium USSR Supreme Soviet. Member CC CPSU and Presidium CC CPSU. Deputy and later member Presidium USSR Supreme Soviet. Hero of Socialist Labor, winner USSR State Prize.

PONOMARYOV, BORIS NIKOLAYEVICH (born January 17, 1905 in Zaraisk, Moscow region). Alternate member Politbureau CC CPSU since 1972. Secretary CC CPSU. Member CPSU since 1919.

Graduated from Moscow University in 1926 and Institute of Red Professors; later became Institute's deputy director in 1932. Professor USSR Academy of Sciences. In 1919 served in Red Army and Zaraisk Military Revolutionary Committee and in important Ryazan YCL posts. Secretary party organization Krasny Vostok factory. Deputy head CC political education groups Turkmen Republic and Donets Basin. Since 1932 taught at institutes and universities.

Director CPSU Institute of History. In 1943-44 deputy director Marx, Engels and Lenin Institute. In 1947-49, chief Soviet Information Bureau USSR Council of Ministers. Head of a CC CPSU department. In 1952-56, alternate member CC CPSU and full member since 1956. Secretary CC CPSU since 1961. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet. Hero of Socialist Labor.

RASHIDOV, SHARAF RASHIDOVICH (born November 6, 1917 in Jizak village, Uzbekistan). Alternate member Politbureau CC CPSU since April 1966. First Secretary Central Committee Uzbekistan Communist Party. Member CPSU since 1939.

Graduated from Uzbek University in Samarkand in 1941 and Higher Party School CC CPSU (correspondence course) in 1948. Rose to become editor-in-chief Samarkand regional newspaper. Served in Soviet Army 1941-42. Secretary Samarkand Regional Party Committee. Editor-in-chief republic newspaper "Kizil Uzbekistan." Chairman of board of Uzbek Soviet Writers' Union. Chairman Presidium Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet. Since March 1959, first secretary Central Committee Uzbekistan Communist Party.

After being alternate has been full member CC CPSU since 1961, and alternate member Presidium. Member Bureau Central Committee Uzbek Communist Party. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet. Member Presidium USSR Supreme Soviet since 1970. Twice Hero of Socialist Labor.

SOLOMENTSEV, MIKHAIL SERGEYEVICH (born November 7, 1913 in Erilovka village, Lipetsk region). Alternate member Politbureau CPSU Central Committee since November 1971. Chairman Russian Federation (RSFSR) Council of Ministers. Member CPSU since 1940.

After graduation from Leningrad Polytechnical Institute in 1940, worked 14 years at Lipetsk plants, in many trade union and party posts and as factory manager. After 1954, Secretary Chelyabinsk Regional Party Committee; Chairman Chelyabinsk National Economic Council; first secretary Karaganda Regional Committee Kazakh Communist Party; first secretary Rostov Regional Party Committee. In 1966-71, secretary CC CPSU. Since July 1971, chairman Council of Ministers, RSFSR. Member CC CPSU since 1961. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet. Hero of Socialist Labor.

SHEVARDNADZE, EDUARD AMVROSIYEVICH (born January 25, 1928 in Mamati village, Georgia). Alternate member Politbureau since November 1978. First secretary Central Committee Communist Party of Georgia. Member CPSU since 1948.

Graduated from party school of Georgian Communist Party in 1951 and Kutaisi Pedagogical Institute in 1959. Secretary Kutaisi regional and city YCL Committee. In 1956-61 second then first secretary YCL Central Committee of Georgia; first secretary Mzkheta District Committee Georgian Communist Party and first secretary Pervomaisky District Committee Georgian Communist Party in Tbilisi. In 1964-72, first deputy minister Protection of Public Order of Georgian Republic; Minister of International Affairs; and first secretary Tbilisi City Committee Georgian Communist Party. Since September 1972, first secretary CC Georgian Communist Party. Member CC CPSU since 1976; member Bureau Central Committee Georgian Communist Party. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet.

Secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee

KAPITONOV, IVAN VASSILIYEVICH (born February 23, 1915 in Serovskoe village, Ryazan region). Member CPSU since 1939.

Graduated from Moscow Institute of Communal Services Construction in 1938. After serving in the Soviet Army 1938-40, held various managerial and leading party and government posts including first and second secretary Moscow CPSU Regional Committee; first secretary Ivanovo CPSU Regional Committee; department head CC CPSU. Since December 1965, secretary CC CPSU. Member CC CPSU since 1952; member CPSU Central Committee Bureau for Russian Federation. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet. Member Presidium USSR Supreme Soviet 1954-1962. Hero of Socialist Labor.

DOLGIKH, VLADIMIR IVANOVICH (born December 5, 1924 in Siberia). Member CPSU since 1942.

Graduated from the Irkutsk Mining and Metallurgical Institute in 1949. Received degree Candidate of Science (Engineering) in 1968. In 1941-43 served in Soviet Army (deputy political instructor, deputy company commander). In 1949-69, various managerial posts: head of work-shift, shop superintendent; chief engineer and then manager mining and metallurgical plant. First secretary Krasnoyarsk Territory Committee CPSU. Member CPSU Central Committee, at same time department head. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet. Hero of Socialist Labor.

ZIMYANIN, MIKHAIL VASSILIYEVICH (born November 21, 1914 in Vitebsk). Member CPSU since 1939.

In 1929-31 worked at locomotive repair shop, Leningrad Vitebsk-Tovarny Station. In 1934-36 worked in field of education. In 1936-38 served in Soviet Army. Graduated from the Mogilyov Pedagogical Institute in 1939. Held leading YCL posts including, first secretary YCL Central Committee of Byelorussia. During World War

II fought in Byelorussian partisan movement. After the war held leading posts: second secretary Gomel Regional Party Committee; minister of education of Byelorussia; secretary CC Byelorussian Communist Party. Subsequently worked in USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs; 1956-57 USSR ambassador to Democratic Republic of Vietnam; and in 1960-65, to Czechoslovakia; USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs; editor-in-chief newspaper *Pravda*. Member CPSU Central Auditing Committee 1956-1966. Since March 1976, secretary CPSU Central Committee. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet. Hero of Socialist Labor.

RUSAKOV, KONSTANTIN VIKTOROVICH (born December 31, 1909). Member CPSU since 1943. After graduating from Leningrad Polytechnical Institute in 1930, worked in construction organizations in Leningrad, Irkutsk, and Armenian Republic as design engineer, chief engineer, manager construction project. Worked in USSR People's Commissariat of Fishing Industry, becoming in 1952 USSR Minister of Fishing Industry. USSR Ambassador to Mongolian People's Republic. Since 1971 worked in CPSU Central Committee. From 1972 to 1977, assistant to General Secretary. Secretary CC CPSU since May 1977; member CPSU Central Auditing Commission 1966-1971. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet. Hero of Socialist Labor.

Our photos: *Page 10*: A presentation by the Soviet Young Pioneers to the 26th CPSU Congress. *Page 50*: A view of the proceedings, held in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. Inset: Leonid Brezhnev delivering the main report. *Page 130* (top to bottom): Foreign delegates Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party USA; Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba, with Leonid Brezhnev; Babrak Karmal, Chairman, Revolutionary Council, Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. *Page 176*: A team of Soviet construction workers. *Page 200*: two portraits of the young builders of BAM, the Baikal-Amur Mainline. *Page 216*: Delegates en route to one of the Congress sessions. Top left: the delegation of the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

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PEACE, PLAN AND PROGRESS

The 26th Congress of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union

Soviet Communist Party congresses, held every five years, are a forum for the Soviet people to sum up achievements, analyze problems and chart the future course of the world's first socialist society. The days of concentrated discussion of foreign and domestic policy at the Congress itself are preceded by months of intense public debate in meetings and the media, involving the great majority of the adult population.

The main reports by Leonid Brezhnev and Nikolay Tikhonov to the 26th Congress featured major new peace proposals, especially for

nuclear disarmament, as well as detailed analyses of economic, social and cultural achievements and problems. Delegates—factoryworkers, farmers, teachers, artists, party and government leaders representing many of the USSR's more than 100 nationalities—voiced their proposals and concerns.

Peace, Plan and Progress brings together extensive verbatim excerpts from the main reports, plus a generous selection of remarks by Soviet delegates and foreign guests. It features observations by US and Western writers on the Congress' significance, including first-hand views of the event itself, and discussions of the role of the Communist Party in Soviet society.

This volume is the only US-published source book on an event of great worldwide significance in the decade of the 1980s.



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